



Benazir Bhutto

Selected Speeches from 1989 - 2007

Compiled and Edited by:

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Dedication

This book is dedicated to all martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the struggle of democracy in Pakistan.

“Strength does not come from winning. Your struggles develop your strengths. When you go through hardships and decide not to surrender, that is strength.”

(Quote by unknown)

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Introduction

This book is published to pay tribute to Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto on the occasion of her 56th birthday. I wish she was with us today, I strongly believe that her death has created a vacuum of the leadership not only in Pakistan but in the third world. Like her father she was a leader of Muslim world. She would have played a vital role in fighting war against terrorism but unfortunately she herself became a victim of terrorism.

I had the privilege of meeting her on several occasions and for the very last time I met her was only days before her death on December 21st 2007 at her Naodero residence. I spent about two and half hours with her. This was Eid day even though she was very busy dealing with different party workers who came to discuss election strategies and to invite her to deliver speeches in their constituencies and to greet the Eid celebration with her.

My purpose of visit was little different in nature, for past five years I have been working on creating a website for her father the great leader of Pakistan Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (www.bhutto.org). Even with the hectic schedule and hundreds of people waiting to see her she was kind enough to give me proper time and guidance, she advised me to meet with few individuals in Karachi to collect some data on her father from them. She also asked me to see her after the elections.

I was in Hyderabad on the December 27th 2009 when I heard the news of her assassination in Rawalpindi. I tried to leave for Larkana to attend her funeral but the entire country was burning and I could not make it to Naudero till her Soyam on 29th.

After an earlier assassination attempt on her life on October 18th 2009 she questioned why Pakistan investigators refused international offers of help in finding the attackers. Instead of providing the proper security demanded by her the government after her assassination cleaned up the crime scene in a rush to destroy all vital evidence. All enquiries so far are just an eye wash, nothing concrete has been done to investigate and punish the real culprits.

I hope her killers are exposed and get the severe punishment for what they have done. My heartiest sympathies are with her family.

Sani Panhwar
California, June 2009

**Address by her Excellency Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto
Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan
at US House of Representatives - June 07, 1989**

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of myself and my delegation, present in this hall, permit me to extend my warmest congratulations to you on the assumption of your high office.

Mr. President, distinguished Members of the Congress, As Salaam-o-Alaikum. Peace be with you.

We gather together, friends and partners, who have fought, side by side, in the cause of liberty.

We gather together to celebrate freedom, to celebrate democracy, to celebrate the three most beautiful words in the English language: 'We the People.'

I stand here conscious of the honor you bestow on my country and on me.

I am not new to America. I recall fondly my 4 years I spent here as a student at Harvard.

- America is a land of great technology.
- America is a land of economic power.

Your products are sent all over the world, a tribute to the creativity and productivity of your people.

- But your greatest export is not material.
- Your greatest export is not a product.
- Your greatest export is an idea.

America's greatest contribution to the world is its concept of democracy, its concept of freedom, freedom of action, freedom of speech, and freedom of thought.

President Bush, in his inaugural address, spoke of a new breeze across America. In fact, this new breeze is sweeping the whole world.

In Afghanistan, the people have freed their country of foreign occupation.

In South America, the generals are returning to their barracks and the people to the halls of government.

In the Orient, the old order is changing and the demands growing.

Glasnost and perestroika are shaking the East bloc--the ultimate tribute to the strength of freedom, to the desire of people wherever they live to control their own destiny.

And it is the words of Lincoln, that are quoted--`a government of the people, by the people, for the people.'

For many of us, the root of all this progress, the foundation of democracy, lies on this continent, 200 years ago, in your covenant of freedom, in words penned by Madison--`We the People.'

My presence before you is a testament to the force of freedom and democracy in Pakistan.

Throughout 1988 the call for democratic change in Pakistan grew louder.

After a decade of repression the wave of freedom surged in Pakistan.

On November 16, the people of Pakistan participated in the first party-based elections in 11 years.

The Pakistan People's Party won a convincing victory, showing wide national support all across the four provinces of our great country. Democracy had at last returned to Pakistan.

- We the people had spoken.
- We the people had prevailed.

In its first days, our new government released political prisoners, legalized labor and student unions, and restored press freedoms.

We signaled our right of recognition to the role of the opposition in a democratic society, giving them free and regular access to the state media for the first time in our history.

We set as our focus reconciliation, not retribution.

Some claimed to fear revenge, revenge against the murderers and torturers, revenge against those who subverted constitutional law.

But, ladies and gentlemen, there was no revenge.

For them and for dictators across the world--democracy is the greatest revenge.

For us the election was the end to an unspeakable ordeal.

A democratic government was overthrown in a military coup, and for 11 years dictatorship ruled our nation.

- Political parties were banned.
- Political expression prohibited.
- There was no freedom of press.

The Constitution was suspended and amended into virtual nonexistence.

Women were subjugated, and laws written specifically to discriminate against them.

Political opponents were imprisoned, tortured, and hanged. It was the luckier ones who went into exile.

Our struggle was driven by faith--faith in our people's ability to resist--faith in our religion, Islam, which teaches us that 'tyranny cannot endure; tyranny cannot endure.'

It is this same faith which has fueled the battle for freedom next door in Afghanistan.

Both our countries have stood alongside the Afghans in their struggle for more than a decade.

For 10 long years the people of Pakistan have provided sanctuary to our Afghan brothers and sisters.

We have nurtured and sustained their families.

More than three million refugees are on our soil. Still more are coming, fleeing the bloodshed.

And we have welcomed them, housed them, and fed them.

And for 10 long years, the United States, in a united bipartisan effort of three administrations and six Congresses, has stood side by side with Pakistan, and the brave Mujahidin.

We both deserve to be proud of that effort.

But that effort did not come without a price. Our villages were strafed, our people killed.

Our peaceful country has changed. The war has brought the curse of drug addiction to Pakistan--over 1 million heroin addicts--to a land that never before knew it.

Our forests and natural resources have been depleted.

Yet our commitment to pay the price for freedom has not been shaken.

And now despite the Soviet withdrawal, peace has not returned to Afghanistan.

Even now the Soviet Government is giving full backing to the Kabul regime's efforts to cling to power.

It has left in its possession vast quantities of lethal weapons--weapons supplemented by a regular supply of hardware including Scud missiles, some of which have already hit Pakistan territory.

More threats have been received, threats to supply new weapons never before seen in the region.

The Soviets have gone. But the force of foreign arms continues to deny Afghanistan the ultimate fruit of victory--self-determination.

Those responsible for a decade of death and destruction now blame us for the continuing bloodshed.

They accuse us of interfering in Afghanistan. Nothing is farther from the truth, and nothing is more unjust.

Our concerns are for a stable, independent and neutral Afghanistan, an Afghanistan where the people can choose their own system, their own government in free and fair elections.

We in Pakistan would like to see the refugees return to their homes in peace and dignity.

Unfortunately, the conflict is not over. It has entered its closing stage, a stage often the most complex and difficult.

Distinguished friends, Pakistan and the United States have traveled a long road with the Afghans in their quest for self-determination.

Let us not at this stage, out of impatience or fatigue become indifferent. We cannot, we must not abandon their cause.

The world community must rise to the challenge which lies ahead. The challenge of achieving a broad-based, political settlement to the war, of rebuilding a shattered country, of helping the victims of war, of developing the Afghan economy.

Mr. Speaker, now Pakistan and the United States enter a new phase of an enduring relationship. Our shared interests and common international goals have not disappeared. If anything they have been strengthened.

Our partnership is not a friendship of convenience. For decades we have been tied together by mutual international goals, and by shared interests.

But something new has entered into the equation of bilateral relations--democracy.

We are now moral as well as political partners. Two elected governments bonded together in a common respect for constitutional government, accountability, and a commitment to freedom.

Because of the intensity of our struggle for freedom, we will never take it for granted in Pakistan.

Our democratic institutions are still new and need careful tending.

Democracy's doubters have never believed that it could successfully address the problems of developing countries. But democracy in Pakistan must succeed to signal nations in political transition all over the world that freedom is on the rise.

This is the time in Pakistan when democracy's friends must come forward. We need the time and the resources to build a truly strong constitutional government. If we succeed all democracies share in that success.

Today we are on the threshold of a new democratic partnership between our two countries, addressing new priorities. A partnership which addresses both our security concerns and our social and economic needs. A partnership which will carry us into the 21st century--strong in mutual trust, close in common interest, constant to the values we share; working in association with democratic governments all across the world to promote the values of freedom. This is the partnership, the new democratic Pakistan we hope to build with your continuing help.

The time is right, my friends, to make miracles in Pakistan. The dictatorship of the past has given way to the forces of the future. The years of social and economic neglect beg for redress. So I come to this land of freedom to talk about the future. The future of my country and the future of freedom everywhere. The future of our children--my child--and yours.

I come before you to declare that we cannot choose between development and democracy. We must work for both.

Partners in democracy must now focus attention on urgent problems which affect mankind as a whole.

The widening gap between rich and poor countries; environmental pollution; drug abuse and trafficking; the pressure of population on world resources; and full economic participation for women everywhere.

We must join together to find remedies and solutions for these problems before they overcome us.

Of all the crises facing us, my government is giving the highest priority to the problem of drug abuse.

We are determined to eradicate this plague from our country. To that end we have established a new Ministry for Narcotics Control.

We are taking vigorous action against drug offenders.

Our close cooperation--and that of other nations--must be strengthened if we are to turn back the tide of drugs sweeping your nation and mine.

So, too, must we work together, as partners, to avert the catastrophe of a nuclear arms race.

Speaking for Pakistan, I can declare that we do not possess nor do we intend to make a nuclear device.

That is our policy.

We are committed to a regional approach to the nuclear problem and we remain ready to accept any safeguards, inspections, and verifications that are applied on a nondiscriminatory regional basis.

Pakistan has long advocated the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region.

A first step in that direction could be a nuclear test ban agreement between Pakistan and its neighbors in South Asia.

We are prepared for any negotiation to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in our region.

We will not provoke a nuclear arms race in the subcontinent.

The United States has long held a commitment to peace in South Asia.

It is a commitment which Pakistan shares.

It is in this spirit of peace, of regional cooperation and bilateral partnership, that I come before you today.

This then must be our agenda, democracy and development, security and international cooperation.

The people of Pakistan appreciate the assistance you have given us, the assistance which you continue to give us.

Your military assistance has helped maintain a relative balance in the region. It has contributed to Pakistan's sense of security. It has strengthened the peace and stability of the South Asian region.

Mr. Speaker, everywhere the Sun is setting on the day of the dictator.

In Pakistan when the moment came, the transition was peaceful.

The whole nation, the whole nation, farmers, workers, the soldiers and civilians, men and women, together heralded the return of democracy.

The people have taken power in their hands.

But our work has just begun.

My friends, freedom is not an end. Freedom is a beginning.

And in Pakistan, at long last, we are ready to begin.

Our two countries stood together in the last decade to support the fight of the Afghan people for freedom.

Let us stand together now as the people of Pakistan strive to give meaning to their new-found freedom.

Come with us toward a tomorrow, better than all the yesterdays we knew.

History, the rush of events, perhaps even destiny have brought me here today.

I am proud to be the elected Prime Minister of Pakistan in this critical time.

It is an awesome obligation.

But in the words of John Fitzgerald Kennedy--'I do not shrink from this responsibility--I welcome it.'

As a representative of the young, let me be viewed as one of a new generation of leaders unshackled by the constraints and irrational hatreds of the past.

As a representative of women, let my message be to them, 'Yes you can!'

As a believer of Islam in this august Chamber, let my message be about a compassionate and tolerant religion, teaching hard work and family values under a merciful God, for that is the Islam and that is the Islam which we must all come to understand.

For me and the people of Pakistan, the last 11 years have encompassed a painful odyssey.

My countrymen and I did not see our loved ones killed, or tortured, or lashed, or languished in solitary confinement, deprived of basic human rights and freedom in order that others might again suffer such indignities.

We sacrificed a part of our lives and bore the pain of confronting tyranny to build a just society.

We believed in ourselves, in our cause, in our people and in our country.

And when you believe, then there is no mountain too high to scale.

That is my message to the youth of America, to its women, and to its people.

Thank you distinguished Members.

Democratic Nations Must Unite
Commencement Address of Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto
to the Harvard University
Harvard - June 8, 1989

I feel honoured to have been asked to make this commencement address to the Class of 1989. But I would like to begin by first of all congratulating all those who have been awarded degrees today.

Not too long ago, I sat where you now sit. I can vividly recall the effort your degrees represent-tramping to class in sub-arctic temperatures, fighting for books at Hilles library, cramming for exams, and at times staying awake all night to complete a term paper.

Today is a day of celebration and I am privileged to share it with you. But while I am greatly honoured by the degree you have conferred on me and grateful. President Bok, for the words in your citation, you will understand that I regard this honour as more than a personal recognition. I consider it an affirmation of the universality of the principles of democracy, liberty and human rights. It was here that the first successful struggle against European imperialism began. It was here--under the banner "no taxation without representation"--that the idea of government by the consent of the governed first gained currency.

Cambridge and Harvard were my cradle of liberty too. I arrived here from a country that in my lifetime, had not known democracy or political freedom. As an under-graduate I was constantly reminded of the value of democracy by the history of freedom that permeates this place. It was not just the history of democracy that inspired me. It was above all, the concrete expression of it.

My Harvard years, 1969 to 1973, coincided with growing frustration over U.S. policy in South East Asia. This was particularly true in the campuses where students were in the forefront of those protesting the Vietnam War. For me, there were demonstrations on Boston Commons and in Washington; mass meetings in Harvard Stadium.

Some American commentators argued that the division over Vietnam signalled American weakness. I saw it as a measure of America's greatness-a reflection of democracy in action, of an open society, which because it was open, had the means of regeneration and revitalisation.

In the Pakistan of those days, the press did not criticize the government. Because the government controlled the press.

While I was a junior at Harvard, Pakistan initiated an experiment in democracy. That experience is instructive.

As 1971 ended, Pakistan was in ruins. A third of the territory and one half of the population was gone, the result of a military defeat precipitated by military repression in what was then known as East Pakistan. War and mismanagement had left our treasury empty and our economy in shambles. Ninety-three thousand prisoners-of-war were threatened by their captors with trial and punishment. Internal discord in West Pakistan threatened the survival of what was left of my country.

A protracted period of military rule produced this catastrophe. It was a disaster resulting from rule without accountability, brought about by the arrogance of a self imposed mission to save the country from its own people.

In the face of this catastrophe, what did our leaders do? They turned power over to the civilians, to an elected Prime Minister. In a pattern repeated by the Greek colonels and the Argentine junta, our military said, in essence: "we have created a hopeless situation; now we wash our hands of it and of the responsibility to resolve it".

But resolve it, we did. The elected Prime Minister negotiated an honourable peace with the victor; he secured the return of the prisoners-of war; and put the economy back on its feet; he initiated a programme of social and economic reform to benefit the poor and dispossessed, who are the majority in our land. All this was done, I might add, at a time of global economic recession brought about by the oil shocks of the 70's.

But what then happened? As is the case in democracies, the political process again became rambunctious. Opposition politicians challenged the elected government. They challenged it in the press, at the polls and in the streets. The military whose dignity was restored by the elected government moved in "to end the squabbling amongst politicians". The new dictatorship proved more brutal; more determined to stay in power than any of its predecessors. Elections were promised and cancelled. The elected Prime Minister was arrested and then, under the cloak of judicial proceedings, murdered. Floggings, imprisonment, and execution became the staple of political life in our land.

Under circumstances that were as remarkable as they were unexpected, Pakistan got a second chance at democracy at the last polls. It is an opportunity that we must not now lose.

In our first act, I am happy to say, our government freed all political prisoners and commuted all death sentences. We restored the freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of the press. In the National Assembly there is a lively opposition and, for the first time in our history, the State-owned television provides full coverage of their activities.

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who recently visited me in Islamabad, once wrote that "If you are in a country where the newspapers are filled with good news, you can be sure that the jails are filled with good men". Even a casual review of our press would serve to confirm the opposite of the Senator's statement.

Around the world, democracy is on the march. In the last decade, Pakistan is only the most recent country to change course and return to democracy. But we must be realistic. We must recognize that democracy, particularly emerging democracy can be fragile. I have already cited the experience of our last democratic government. But the example is not confined to Pakistan alone. In the Philippines, Mrs. Aquino's three-year-old democracy has already survived several coup attempts; in Argentina, there have been half a dozen military rebellions; in Peru, narcotics and terrorism threaten a fifteen-year-old experiment in democracy.

Democracy needs support and the best support for democracy comes from other democracies. Already, there is an informal network to support democracy. Annually, the United States prepares a report on human rights in every country. In prison I was heartened to learn that the Congress had linked U.S. assistance to Pakistan in the Pell Amendment, to the "restoration of full civil liberties and representative government in Pakistan". Friends of democracy in other countries, including Britain, Canada, and Germany, sent delegations to investigate human

right abuses in Pakistan. Our elections last November were made easier by the presence of observers sponsored by the United States, Britain, and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.

This informal network for democracy can and should be strengthened. Democratic nations should forge a consensus around the most powerful political idea in the world today: the right of people to freely choose their government. Having created a bond through evolving such a consensus, democratic nations should then come together in an association designed to help each other and promote what is a universal value---democracy.

Not every democracy organizes itself in the same way; nor does every democracy express itself the same way. But there are two elements I consider essential to all democracies. These are:

(1) the holding of elections at regular intervals, open to the participation of all significant political parties, that are fairly administered and where the franchise is broad or universal; and

(2) respect for fundamental human rights including freedom of expression, freedom of conscience, and freedom of association.

There are several ways in which members of an Association of Democratic Nations can help each other. One way is to ensure the impartiality of elections. After all, democracy as a system of government can only work when all participants in the political process accept the verdict of the people. For the verdict to be accepted as legitimate, elections must not only be fair, but they must also be seen to be fair.

International observer missions have already played critical roles in ensuring fair outcomes to elections in several countries including mine. The presence of observers is a deterrent to fraud. The observers' report can help legitimize an election in an emerging democracy where popular skepticism can be rife, as in South Korea, or it can validate local perceptions of fraud, as in the Philippines and Panama.

Observers also bring television cameras with them. It is much harder to steal an election if the whole world is watching, and. As the experience of the Philippines suggests attempted fraud under the glare of television lights can help galvanise a popular uprising.

There are other ways in which an Association of Democratic Nations can provide some protection for democratic governments in the Association. In countries

without established traditions of representative government democracy is always at risk. All too often, there is the overly ambitious general, the all too determined fanatic, or the all too avaricious politician. The Association of Democratic Nations can help change the calculus for each of these potential coup plotters by adding the element of international opprobrium. The Association can mobilize international opinion against leaders of any coup. Ultimately, I believe, the door should be open to stronger steps including economic sanctions.

Democracy depends on our ability to deliver goods to the people. Many new democracies find that dictatorship has left them with empty treasuries-because of reckless spending. As was true for new democracies in other lands notably Argentina and Brazil, we, in Pakistan, also found that dictatorship had left the state coffers empty. Our situation is not unique. Other new democracies also come to power to find the cupboard bare. This Association of Democratic Nations could promote the idea that foreign aid should be channeled to democracies. There is nothing wrong in rewarding an idea in which the donors believe. The prospects for democracy may depend on it.

Some may object that the Association I am proposing will have primarily moral force. I acknowledge this but I would urge that morality has a larger power in international relations than is commonly recognized.

Democratic nations can also cooperate in building an international machinery to protect human rights and principles of justice and due process of law. National efforts to strengthen institutions that protect people from human rights abuses and guarantee their political freedoms needs to be reinforced at the international level. For, dictatorship will always seek ways and means to clothe its crime in the garb of legality-always seek to settle political scores and eliminate opponents in the name of justice, law and due process. The instrument that they use is as old as political history, as old as the trial of Socrates. It is the instrument of the political trial-a most pernicious and destructive weapon, which in the hands of skilful manipulators is extremely effective in suppressing dissent and in destroying opponents. I believe it is time that the international community makes a concerted effort to put an end to such practices.

In my country, many of those who resisted dictatorship the heroes of our democratic struggle-were young men and women of your age. Many of them endured long periods of incarceration, and faced charges on political trials that were a travesty of truth and justice. Many suffered the worst forms of torture and humiliation of the physical punishment of flogging. Indeed, many had to make the supreme sacrifice of their lives. I can never forget what they endured. I can only strive with all my strength to give meaning to what they sought-those simple but priceless freedoms that you here, perhaps, take for granted. But it is

faith that inspired and provided sustenance to our democratic struggle-faith in the righteousness of our cause, faith in the Islamic teaching that "tyranny cannot long endure".

How wrong, therefore, is the picture that is often painted about Pakistan as a country that cannot be democratic because it is Muslim. I have often heard the argument that a Muslim country as such cannot have or work democracy. But I stand before you, a Muslim woman, the elected Prime Minister of one hundred million Muslims, a living refutation of such arguments.

This has happened because the people of Pakistan have demonstrated, time and again, that their faith in their inherent right to fundamental freedoms is irrepressible. This love for freedom and human rights owes a considerable degree to the colonial legacy and to the example of Western democratic institutions.

But it arises fundamentally from the strong egalitarian spirit that pervades Islamic traditions. The Holy Book calls upon Muslims to resist tyranny. Dictatorships in Pakistan, however long, have, therefore, always collapsed in the face of this spirit.

Islam, in fact, has a strong democratic ethos. With its emphasis on justice, on equality and brotherhood of men and women, on government by consultation, its essence is democratic.

Pakistan is heir to an intellectual tradition of which the illustrious exponent was the poet and philosopher Mohammad Iqbal. He saw the future course for Islamic societies in a synthesis between adherence to the faith and adjustment to the modern age. It is this tradition which continues to inspire the people of Pakistan in their search for their own way of life amidst competing ideologies and doctrines. Tolerance, open-mindedness, pursuit of social justice, emphasis on the values of equality and social concord and encouragement of scientific inquiry are some of its hallmarks. These are the hallmarks that the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah propounded. These are the hallmarks Pakistan's first democratic Prime Minister, Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, tried to live up to. Intensely devoted as the pioneers of this tradition were to the Islamic spirit, they were also strongly opposed to bigotry in all their forms. Xenophobia or prejudice against other civilizations, western or non-western, was repugnant to their outlook.

It is this heritage that has enabled me to take on the awesome responsibilities of the Prime Ministership of my country.

As my country stands on the threshold of greater freedom and sets the priorities that it will take into the 21st century, we draw our inspiration from what the poet-philosopher Iqbal said-and what is universally applicable:

"Life is reduced to a rivulet under dictatorship. But in freedom it becomes a boundless ocean".

This is true in Pakistan and on every continent on earth. Let all of us who believe in freedom join together for the preservation of liberty. My message is: 'Democratic nations unite'.

Before I take your leave, Mr. President, Mr. Governor and other distinguished guests, I know that there are students who are graduating today and there is something that I would like to say specially for them. When I was an undergraduate at Harvard I used to conduct Crimson Key tours for newcomers and Crimson Key tour guides had our own special lines. One of them related to the institute of fine arts, and it went: a famous architect.

L.E. Corbusier, designed this building but the constructors got the plan upside down. As you go out in the world perhaps you will sometimes find things a little upside down. In the words of the Latin scholars of today I can only repeat. You will go, you will see, and you will reform, and in so doing you will live up to the Harvard motto: Veritas.

New Phase in Relations

Speech at the banquet in honour of the Prime Minister of India

Islamabad: July 16, 1989

We welcome Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Madam Sonia Gandhi and the members of their delegation.

Mr. Prime Minister, this is the first official visit to Pakistan by an Indian Prime Minister since 1960. Your illustrious grandfather, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, whose birth centenary India is celebrating this year, was our honoured guest on that occasion. During that visit, India and Pakistan signed the Indus Waters Treaty which equitably settled the complex and volatile issue of sharing of the river waters of the Indus Basin. That treaty has stood us in good stead over the past 29 years and we should preserve its sanctity.

The last bilateral visit to India by a Pakistani Prime Minister was that of Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1972 to sign the Simla Agreement. I had the privilege of accompanying him on that occasion. Despite the difficult circumstances

prevailing at that time, it became possible to sign an agreement because both Pakistan and India had resolved to put an end to conflict and confrontation, to promote friendly and harmonious relations and to work for the establishment of a durable peace in the sub-continent. The Simla Agreement has ensured peace between our two nations over the last 17 years. We should ensure that the Simla Agreement is implemented in letter and in spirit.

Mr. Prime Minister, six months ago, we had the pleasure of welcoming you and Madam Gandhi on the occasion of the SAARC Summit. That visit provided us with an opportunity to have in-depth discussions on our bilateral relations. Three bilateral agreements were also signed on that occasion. Since that meeting, many exchanges at official level have taken place and good progress has been made at these meetings. The Pakistan-India Joint Commission is to meet now to finalize proposals which would go a long way to increase people to people contacts and co-operation in the cultural, commercial and other fields. We hope that these efforts will contribute to a more meaningful relationship between our two countries based on equality and mutual benefit.

A wind of change is now blowing across the globe. Co-operation is replacing confrontation. The Super Powers have agreed to cut down their nuclear arsenals and in our neighbourhood momentous changes have taken place. The Soviet Union has withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan. We hope that soon a broad-based government acceptable to the Afghan people would be established there. China and the Soviet Union have taken significant steps towards improvement of relations.

At a time like this, when nations with traditional hostility are moving towards peace and friendship, we must ensure that in our region peace and amity do not become hostage to narrow national considerations. We owe it to our people to safeguard peace and security so that they can devote their energies and resources towards development. We should ensure that South Asia remains free of nuclear weapons. Pakistan is ready to join any arrangement which can guarantee non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in South Asia. We would also like to prevent an arms race in our region and to encourage arms control talks.

Mr. Prime Minister, we can proudly claim that in our own region we have taken some significant steps for the establishment of peace and the promotion of co-operation. The South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation is one such step. In the last four years, our Association has made more progress than any other comparable regional organization. We have to conserve and consolidate our gains. One-fifth of humanity lives in the South Asian sub-continent. They are also amongst the poorest in the world. Our people want progress, development and better quality of life. Through SAARC, we can provide it to them.

Unfortunately, SAARC is today faced with a crisis. We have to make individual and joint efforts not to allow any harm to come to this organization.

Mr. Prime Minister, distinguished guests!

Pakistan and India have a shared history. Our people face similar problems and have the same aspirations. Our people want friendship and not hostility. We, in Pakistan, have waged a long struggle against the dark night of dictatorship. We, therefore, have a deep commitment to freedom, to democracy and to peace. We are committed to abide by the Simla Agreement and we wish to conduct our bilateral relations in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement. In December last year, we initiated a new phase in our relationship—a phase in which we would try and get our countries out of the mire of mutual mistrust and suspicion; a phase in which to build our relations based on the principles of equality and respect for each other's internal affairs. We would like to renew our commitment to these principles.

I request all of you to join me in a toast to the health and happiness of His Excellency Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Madam Sonia Gandhi, and to the progress and prosperity of the peoples of Pakistan and India.

**Remarks at Joint Appearance
With U.S. President Bill Clinton
by Benazir Bhutto
Former Prime Minister of Pakistan**

Cross Hall, The White House: April 11, 1995

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: I'd like to begin by thanking the President for his kind words of support and encouragement.

Since 1989, my last visit to Washington, both the world and Pak-U.S. relations have undergone far-reaching changes. The post-Cold War era has brought into sharp focus the positive role that Pakistan, as a moderate, democratic, Islamic country of 130 million people, can play, and the fact that it is strategically located at the tri-junction of South Asia, Central Asia and the Gulf -- a region of both political volatility and economic opportunity.

Globally, Pakistan is active in U.N. peacekeeping operations. We are on the forefront of the fight against international terrorism, narcotics, illegal immigration and counterfeit currency. We remain committed to the control and

elimination of weapons of mass destruction, as well as the delivery systems on a regional, equitable and non-discriminatory basis.

Since 1993, concerted efforts by Pakistan and the United States to broaden the base of bilateral relations have resulted in steady progress. In September 1994, in a symbolic gesture, the United States granted Pakistan about \$10 million in support for population planning. This was announced by the Vice President at the Cairo Summit on population planning. This was followed by the presidential mission, led by Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary, which resulted in agreement worth \$4.6 billion being signed. And, now, during my visit here, we are grateful to the administration and the Cabinet secretaries for having helped us sign \$6 billion more of agreements between Pakistan and the United States.

During the Defense Secretary's visit to Pakistan in January 1995, our countries decided to revive the Pakistan-United States Defense Consultative Group. And more recently, we had the First Lady and the First Daughter visit Pakistan, and we had an opportunity to discuss women's issues and children's issues with the First Lady. And we found the First Daughter very knowledgeable. We found Chelsea very knowledgeable on Islamic issues. I'm delighted to learn from the President that Chelsea is studying Islamic history and has also actually read our Holy Book, the Koran Shariah.

I'm delighted to have accepted President Clinton's invitation to Washington. This is the first visit by a Pakistani's Chief Executive in six years. President Clinton and I covered a wide range of subjects, including Kashmir, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Gulf, Pakistan-India relations, nuclear proliferation, U.N. peacekeeping, terrorism and narcotics.

I briefed him about corporate America's interest in Pakistan, which has resulted in the signing of \$12 billion worth of MOUs in the last 17 months since our government took office. I urged an early resolution of the core issue of Kashmir, which poses a great threat to peace and security in our region. It has retarded progress on all issues, including nuclear and missile proliferation. A just and durable solution is the need of the hour, based on the wishes of the Kashmiri people, as envisaged in the Security Council resolutions. Pakistan remains committed to engage in a substantive dialogue with India to resolve this dispute, but not in a charade that can be used by our neighbor to mislead the international community. I am happy to note that the United States recognizes Kashmir as disputed territory and maintains that a durable solution can only be based on the will of the Kashmiri people.

Pakistan asked for a reassessment of the Pressler Amendment, which places discriminatory sanctions on Pakistan. In our view, this amendment has been a

disincentive for a regional solution to the proliferation issue. Pakistan has requested the President and the administration to resolve the problem of our equipment worth \$1.4 billion, which is held up. I am encouraged by my discussions with the President this morning and the understanding that he has shown for Pakistan's position. I welcome the Clinton administration's decision to work with Congress to revise the Pressler Amendment.

Thank you, Mr. President.

**Islam Forbids Injustice Against People, Nations and Women
Address at the Forth World Conference on Women - Beijing
4 September 1995**

Madam Chairperson,

Mr Secretary General,

Distinguished Delegates,

Sisters !

Pakistan is grateful to the Government and the people of China for hosting this Conference. We have been deeply touched by the warm welcome and gracious hospitality.

I pay a special tribute to the Secretary General of the United Nations and Mrs. Gertrude Mongella, the Secretary General of the Conference for their tireless efforts in organizing this meeting.

My dear sisters, ladies and gentlemen!

There is a moral crisis engulfing the world as we speak, a crisis of injustice and inaction, a crisis of silence and acquiescence.

The crisis is caused by centuries and generations of oppression and repression.

This conference, therefore, transcends politics and economics. We are dealing with a fundamental moral issue.

This is a truly historic occasion. Some 40,000 women have assembled here to demand their rights; to secure a better future for their daughters; to put an end to the prejudices which still deny so many of us our rightful place in society.

On this solemn occasion I stand before you not only as a Prime Minister but as a woman and a mother-A woman proud of her cultural and religious heritage, a woman sensitive to the obstacles to justice and full participation that still stand before women in almost every society on earth.

As the first woman ever elected to head an Islamic nation, I feel a special responsibility towards women's issues and towards all women.

And as a Muslim woman, I feel a special responsibility to counter the propaganda of a handful that Islam gives women a second class status.

This is not true. Today the Muslim world boasts three women Prime Ministers, elected by male and female voters on our abilities as people, as persons, not as women.

Our election has destroyed the myth built by social taboo that a woman's place is in the house that it is shameful or dishonourable or socially unacceptable for a Muslim woman to work.

Our election has given women all over the Muslim world moral strength to declare that it is socially correct for a woman to work and to follow in our footsteps as working women and working mothers.

Muslim women have a special responsibility to help distinguish between Islamic teachings and social taboos spun by the traditions of a patriarchal society.

This is a distinction that obscurantist would not like to see. For obscurantist believe in discrimination. Discrimination is the first step to dictatorship and the usurpation of power.

A month ago, Pakistan hosted the first ever conference of Women Parliamentarians of Muslim world.

Never in the history of Islam had so many working women and elected representatives gathered together at one place to speak in one voice.

As over a 100 delegates from 35 Muslim countries gathered together, I felt an enormous sense of pride that we women had each other for strength and support, across the globe and across the continents to face and oppose those who would not allow the empowerment of women.

And, today, I feel that same sense of pride, that we women have gathered together at Beijing, at this ancient capital of an ancient civilization to declare; we are not alone in our search for the empowerment, that women across continents are together in the search for self-esteem, self-worth, self-respect and respect in society itself. In distinguishing between Islamic teachings and social taboos, we must remember that Islam forbids injustice;

Injustice against people, against nations, against women.

It shuns race, colour, and gender as a basis of distinction amongst fellowmen.

It enshrines piety as the sole criteria for judging humankind.

It treats women as human beings in their own right, not as chattel. A woman can inherit, divorce, receive alimony and child custody. Women were intellectuals, poets, jurists and even took part in war.

The Holy Book of the Muslims refers to the rule of a woman, the Queen of Sabah. The Holy Book alludes to her wisdom and to her country being a land of plenty.

The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) himself married a working woman. And the first convert to Islam was a woman, Bibi Khadija.

Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) emphatically condemned and put an end to the practice of female infanticide in pre-Islamic Arabia. The Holy Quran reads:

When news is brought to one of them, of the birth of a female (child), his face darkens and he is filled with inward grief what shame does he hide himself from his people because of the bad news he has had.

Shall he retain it on sufferance and contempt, or bury it in the dust.

Ah! what an evil choice they decide on. (Surah Al-Nahl, Ayat-57, 58, 59)

Ladies and gentlemen!

How true these words ring even today.

How many women are still "retained" in their families "on sufferance and contempt" growing up with emotional scars and burdens.

How tragic it is that the pre-Islamic practice of female infanticide still haunts a world we regard as modern and civilized.

Girl children are often abandoned or aborted.

Statistics show that men now increasingly outnumber women in more than 15 Asian nations.

Boys are wanted. Boys are wanted because their worth is considered more than that of the girls.

Boys are wanted to satisfy the ego: they carry on the father's name in this world.

Yet too often we forget that for Muslims on the Day of Judgment, each person will be called not by their father's name but by the mother's name.

To please her husband, a woman wants a son. To keep her husband from abandoning her, a woman wants a son.

And, too often, when a woman expects a girl, she abets her husband in abandoning or aborting that innocent, perfectly formed child.

As we gather here today, the cries of the girl child reach out to us.

This conference needs to chart a course that can create a climate where the girl child is as welcomed and valued as a boy child, that the girl child is considered as worthy as a boy child.

When I was chairperson of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, SAARC declared as the Year of the Girl Child.

Six years later, the girl child's vulnerability continues.

And it continues, not because of religion in the case of Pakistan, but because of social prejudice.

The rights Islam gave Muslim women have too often been denied.

And women are denied rights all over the world, whether developed or developing.

All over the world women are subjected to domestic violence.

Often a woman does not walk out for she has nowhere to go. Or she stays and puts up with the domestic violence for the sake of her children.

We in Pakistan have started a public awareness campaign against domestic violence through the mass media to inform women that domestic violence is a crime and to alert men that they can be punished for it.

Often women, in many a society are tortured, not only by men, but by women in-laws too, for financial benefits from the woman's family.

Sometime a wife is killed by her husband or in-laws so that they can gain another wife and more dowries.

Dowry system is a social ill against which we must raise our voices and create greater awareness.

Women are not only victims of physical abuse; they are victims of verbal abuse also.

Often men, in anger and frustration, indulge in the uncivilized behaviour of rude and vulgar language against women.

Unfortunately, women at times also use vulgar language to denigrate another woman.

So we have to work together to change not only the attitudes of men but the attitudes of men and women.

Women have become the victims of a culture of exclusion poverty, deprivation, and discrimination. Half a billion women are illiterate. Seventy per cent of the children who are denied elementary education are girls.

In Pakistan we are concentrating on primary education for girls to rectify this imbalance.

We are concentrating on training women teachers and opening up employment avenues for women.

It is my firm conviction that a woman cannot ultimately control her own life and make her own choices unless she has financial independence.

A woman cannot have financial independence if she cannot work.. The discrimination against women can only begin to erode when women are educated and employed.

If my Father had not educated me or left me with independent financial means, I would not have been able to-sustain myself or to struggle against tyranny or to stand here before you today as a special guest speaker.

If the girl child is to be valued, if the wife is to say "No" to domestic violence then we owe a special obligation to creating jobs for women.

That is why we in Pakistan, set up in 1989 the Women's Bank.

A Bank run by women for women to aid and assist women in setting up their own enterprises to gain financial independence and with it the freedom to make one's own choices.

Today 23 branches of the Women's Bank in Pakistan help working women.

Our major cities are marked by enterprises set up by women: bakeries, restaurants, boutiques, interior decoration.

We have lifted the ban on Pakistani women taking part in international sporting events.

In 1997 we host the Second Muslim Women's Olympics. Special sporting facilities are being set up to encourage participation by Pakistani women in sports.

And Pakistani women are playing a significant role in defusing the population bomb in Pakistan.

One hundred thousand women are to be trained to reduce Pakistan's population on growth levels and its infant mortality levels.

When I visit poverty stricken villages with no access to lean drinking water, it gladdens my heart to see a lady health visitor, to see a working woman amidst the unfortunate surroundings.

For it is my conviction that we can only conquer poverty, squalor, illiteracy and superstition when we invest in our women and when our women begin working. Begin working in our far flung villages where time seems to have stood still and where the bullock not the tractor is still used for cultivation;

Where women are too weak from bearing too many children.

Where the daughters are more malnourished than the sons for the daughters get to eat the left over.

Where villagers work night and day with their women and children, to eke out an existence;

Where floods and rain wash out crops and destroy homes;

Where poverty stalks the land with an appetite that cannot be controlled until we wake up to the twin realities of population control and women's empowerment.

And it is here that the United Nations and its Secretary General have played a critical role.

Distinguished Delegates!

Some cynics argue about the utility of holding this conference.

Let me disagree with them.

The holding of this conference demonstrates that women not forgotten, that the world cares.

The holding of this conference demonstrates solidarity with women.

The holding of this conference makes us determined to contribute each in our own way, in any manner we can, to lessen the oppression, repression and discrimination against women.

And while much needs to be done, each decade has brought with it its own small improvement.

When I was growing up, women in my extended family remained behind closed walls in village homes. Now we all travel to cities or abroad.

When I was growing up, women in my extended family all covered ourselves with the Burqa, or veil from head to foot when we visited each other for weddings or funerals-the only two items for which we were allowed out. Now most women restrict themselves to the Duppatta or Chadar and are free to leave the house.

When I was growing up, no girl in my extended family was allowed to marry if a boy cousin was not available for fear of the property leaving the family.

Now girls do marry outside the family.

When I was growing up, the boy cousin inevitably took second wife. Now girls do not expect their husbands to marry again. From the norm, it has become the exception to the norm.

When I was growing up, women were not educated. I the first girl in my family to go to university and to go abroad for my studies. Now it has become the norm for girls to be educated at university and abroad when the families can afford it.

I have seen, a lot of changes in my lifetime.

But I hope to see many more changes.

And some of these changes I hope will flow from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights calling for the elimination of discrimination against women.

I hope some of these changes will flow from Convention for the Elimination of all forms of discrimination which Pakistan signed last month.

Of course there was resistance from many quarters.

But we are determined to move forward in fulfilling our dream of a Pakistan where women contribute their full potential.

Distinguished Delegates!

As women, we draw satisfaction from Beijing Platform of Action which encompasses a comprehensive approach towards the empowerment of women.

But women cannot be expected to struggle alone against the forces of discrimination and exploitation. I recall the words of Dante who reminded us that:

"The hottest place in Hell is reserved for those who remain neutral in times of moral crisis."

Today in this world, in the fight for the liberation of women, there can be no neutrality.

But my dear sisters, we have learned that democracy alone is not enough.

Freedom of choice alone does not guarantee justice.

Equal rights are not defined only by political value. Social justice is a triad of freedom, of equality, of liberty.

- Justice is political liberty.
- Justice is economic independence.
- Justice is social equality.

Delegates, sisters!

Empowerment is not only a right to have political freedom. Empowerment is the right to be independent; to be educated ; to have choices in life.

Empowerment is the right to have the opportunity to select a productive career ; to own property ; to participate in business ; to flourish in the market place.

Pakistan is satisfied that the draft Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women negotiated so far focuses on the critical areas of concern for women and outlines an action-oriented strategy for the solution of their problems.

However, we believe that the Platform needs to address the questions of new and additional resources, external debt, structural adjustment programmes, human rights of women, protection of women entrapped in armed conflicts and the realization of the right to self-determination of the territories still under foreign occupation and alien domination.

It must also seek to strengthen the role of the traditional family as the bedrock of the society. Disintegration of the family generates moral decay. This must be arrested.

The Platform is disturbingly weak on the role of the traditional family. This weakness can lead to misinterpretation, and even distortion by opponents of the women's agenda.

We have seen much progress. The very fact that we convene in Beijing today is a giant step forward.

But new clouds darken the horizon.

The end of the cold war should have ushered in peace and an era of progress of women. Regrettably, the proliferation of regional tensions and conflicts have belied our aspirations. As in the past, women and girls have again been the most direct victims of these conflicts-the most helpless, and thus the most abused.

The use of rape as a weapon of war and an instrument of "ethnic cleansing" is as depraved as it is reprehensible. The unfolding of this saga in different parts of the world, including Jammu and Kashmir and Bosnia Herzegovina has shaken the conscience of the entire international community.

The enormity of the tragedy dwarfs our other issues urgent though they are. This conference must, therefore, express its complete solidarity with our sisters and daughters who are victims of armed conflict, oppression, and brutality. Their misfortunes must be our first priority.

Madam chairperson, ladies and gentlemen!

I come before you to speak of the forces that must shape the new decade, the new century, the new millennium.

We must shape a world free from exploitation and maltreatment of women.

A world in which women have opportunities-to rise to the highest level in politics business, diplomacy, and other spheres of life.

Where there are no battered women. Where honour and dignity is protected in war and conflict.

Where we have economic freedom and independence.

Where we are equal partners in peace and development.

A world equally committed to economic development and political development.

A world as committed to free markets to fn's- emancipation.

And even as we catalogue, organize, and reach our goals, step by step, let us be ever vigilant. Repressive forces always will stand ready to exploit the moment and push us back into the past. .

Let us remember the words of the German writer, Goethe:

"Freedom has to be re-made and re-earned in every generation."

We must do much more than decry the past. We must change the future.

Remembering the words of a sister parliamentarian Senator, Barbara Mikulski, that "demography is destiny", I believe time, justice and the forces of history are on our side. We are here in Beijing to proclaim anew vision of equality and partnership.

Let us translate this vision into reality in the shortest possible time.

Thank you Madam Chairperson.

Cover-up or Accountability
Speech By former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto
at Seminar, Lahore, May 30, 1997

Honoured guests ladies and gentlemen.

Pakistan is facing economic hardship. This is due to the following factors:

1. Drying up of foreign aid amounting to more than \$4.2 billion.

Supply side economics practised by three P.M.L regimes since 1985.

Dollarisation of the economy introduced by the first Nawaz Sharif regime with the passage of the Finance Act 1992.

Commercial loans taken for the motorway and other such luxurious projects by the Nawaz Sharif regime between 1990-1993.

Increase of debt in ratio to G.D.P due to dollarisation and commercial debt.

High population growth rate.

Lack of investment in the social sectors.

Failure to transfer from textile state to a software state keeping in mind the global trends;

Targeting agriculture which has been the main stay of the economy.

In times of hardship and adversity, the public at large resents ostentatious living by the rich and the privileged.

Since much of the wealth acquired by the rich and privileged is through corrupt means, the public at large has risen around the banner of anti-corruption.

Most of the corrupt money is due to bank defaulters, tax evaders, drug smugglers, arms smugglers, land allotment and demarcation and contracts for purchases or building purposes.

The question before us today is whether the Nawaz Sharif regime has responded to the public demands or not.

I would say NOT.

Instead the Nawaz regime has used the brutal majority in the Parliament to give cover to the most corrupt elements while using the slogan of corruption to victimise its political opponents and impose a one party dictatorship in Pakistan.

Let us address specific cases of massive criminal cover-up by the Nawaz regime:

a) . Nawaz Sharif was accused by his relatives of plundering the family wealth. The prosecution colluded with Nawaz defence to protect the plunders of the family wealth.

b) . According to the State Bank Report, the Prime Minister's family stood as the Nation's highest defaulters covering more than Rs. 5 Billion to the Pakistani Banks.

The State Bank Report was presented to the National Assembly in September 1996 (it also showed family members of President Leghari as defaulters but not one family member of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto).

Since assuming Office, the PML-N regime has threatened bank officials, ironically with the sword of "accountability" to "whiten" the 5 Billion Rupees it owes to the Banks.

According to newspaper reports, the Nawaz Sharif family has sued the banks for billions.

As the prosecutor and the defendant are one and the same (Nawaz Sharif) it appears that the Nawaz Sharif family hopes to get away with the billions of rupees in tax payers money unless there is a re-trial.

The income tax authorities that detected massive tax evasion by Nawaz Sharif family have been suspended, ironically on the grounds of being corrupt.

When the prosecution and the defaulters are one and the same, the honest can be declared corrupt, the corrupt honest, and corruption can thrive to the detriment of Pakistan's name, honour, prestige, economy and people.

On May 27, 1997 the High Court of Lahore headed by Justice Ejaz Nisar who, co-incidentally was promoted to the Supreme Court, a day later, acquitted Nawaz Sharif in the Houdaibia Engineering Works scandal. The Pakistan Peoples Party has demanded the re-trial of Mr. Nawaz Sharif in the scandal.

It is one more demonstration of how the prosecution and the defence colluded to get the Nawaz Sharif family off the hook.

Of course no action has been taken against the relatives of President Farooq Legahri who were shown as bank defaulters by the independent and autonomous State Bank of Pakistan.

Despite massive new taxes, the Caretaker regime of President Leghari and the one party state of Nawaz Sharif has gathered less monthly revenues for Pakistan than the democratically elected government of Benazir Bhutto.

The Pakistan Peoples Party has demanded that the Chief Justice of Pakistan constitute a high level judicial inquiry for Ehtisaab of missing billions, some say missing hundreds of billions between Rs. 124 -160 billions which are the expected revenue short falls.

It is a very serious matter if the Benazir government recovered more per month for Pakistan with less taxes and the Leghari - Nawaz regime acquired less per month with more taxes. That means over a hundred billion is embezzled.

No wonder the debt to GDP ratio which had fallen under the Benazir government has again risen.

This is the most serious corruption.

But it is getting the least attention.

The heart of matter is that the problem of corruption can never be solved unless the following steps are taken.

- a) All those with dollar accounts are asked to account for the source of their income.
- b) All those with Bearer Bonds are asked to account for their income.

When Pakistan boosts money laundering schemes, when stinking corrupt, black money is given sanctity and protection under the dollars accounts and bearer certificates, we will never be able to tackle the problem of corruption.

It will remain a hollow slogan and a convenient sword for a political agenda of victimisation, persecution and politics of distortion and disinformation.

There is one more need.

That is to separate the prosecution from the defence.

When the Defence and the Investigation and Prosecution are all answerable to the government, then collusion will take place. The corrupt will go scot free and the honest will be punished as part of the political agenda.

As Prime Minister I had proposed in the National Assembly that a special parliamentary committee should be formed by the leader of the House and the leader of the Opposition with equal representation.

The Investigative and Prosecution teams should be chosen by this committee so that there is a check and balance.

The then opposition declined my offer. I made it because I had nothing to hide.

I again propose:- let the present Prime Minister and the former Prime Minister form a committee with equal representation.

Let each of us pick teams of investigators and prosecutors and let us bring the charges against each other in an even handed and just manner.

And let these teams have security of tenure and guaranteed protection so that undue pressure can not be applied on them.

And let the dollar accounts and FEBCs have no protection.

Then and then only will we be able to differentiate between clear money and dirty money.

With the collusion of investigative prosecution and defence, the judicial system cannot convict the ruling classes.

With the collusion of dependent investigation, prosecution and Judges whose tenure lies in one hand, false cases can be fabricated.

The promotion of judges should also depend not on partisan consideration but on bi-partisan consideration based on an independent and defined criteria.

After all judges are only human. Even if not consciously, unconsciously they are affected when handling matters about prospects of promotions and post retirement jobs.

As we have seen, judges today can also become Senators.

Surely this must be a good development but when a judge who exonerated the Nawaz Sharif regime of the co-operatives scandal is made a Senator, eye-brows will be raised.

Therefore the appointment and promotion of judges should also be made by a committee with equal representation by:

- i) The leader of the House
- ii) The leader of the Opposition
- iii) The Chief Justice of Supreme Court accompanied by the senior Judges of Supreme Court or the senior Judges of the concerned High Court as the case may be.
- iv) The President of the Pakistan Bar Council or Provincial Bar Councils as the case may be.

This committee should consider names only according to an established criteria. Without necessary reforms the public disenchantment will grow with the executive, with the judiciary and with the intelligence agencies, which have been involved in a partisan political agenda.

This will lead to a collapse of institutions. The revolutions in Iran and Afghanistan have had an impact on the region.

Unless we deal with the corruption issue squarely and justly and unless we reform our systems and structure, the public at large will become cynical, alienated, dis-enchanted and turn away from moderate, democratic leaders who have failed in their duties.

Now I would like to turn to the anti corruption drive we have witnessed in the last hundred days.

First there has been the massive cover up which I have already talked about.

Next comes the programme of political agenda of persecution in the pursuit of a one party state.

Action has been claimed through a media trial, torture by intelligence agencies of sleep deprivation and disorientation, and repeated arrests against some of the following:

i) Asif Ali Zardari, twice elected MNA, twice a cabinet minister, Senator elect, spouse of the former Prime Minister. Called the king of corruption he has not been charged with one corruption crime. Twice freed by the courts, he has been kept behind the bars for seven months.

The Investigating Agencies are investigating:

a) Whether he killed his brother-in-law. Four investigating officers; two SDMs and four judges have been changed for refusing to frame him;

b) For sending abroad personal affects which did not belong to him and which any way is not a criminal offence.

The Investigation has been stuck up for seven months because the FIA do not know whether the MD at the time was Farooq Umar or Mr. Tiwana

Are we expected to believe this? Or are investigating agencies deliberately delaying the case in the hope of "breaking" of few people into fabricating evidence in exchange for release.

ii) Mr. Hakim Ali Zardari, father-in-law, thrice elected member of Parliament since 1970, former Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee and the Finance Committee, head of the Zardari tribe. Arrested, thrown behind bars. Released by court. Case being investigated? The one for which he was acquitted three years ago when Nawaz Sharif regime No. 1 was in Office.

iii) Munawar Talpur, brother-in-law, Member of Parliament five times, son of an elected member of Parliament. Belongs to one of the oldest family of Sindh. Locked up in police custody sent to Hyderabad jail. Hand cuffed even though the Ehtesaab Commission has not ordered his arrest.

iv) Ms Naheed Khan Political Secretary and close aide of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. Arrested twice. Sleep deprivation, torture. Involved in third case of giving jobs in PIA. Considering that all jobs have been given according to a laid down procedure, one presumes that the precedent is being set to haul up the Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff formerly Chairman of PIA and the present Prime Minister. Not charged with corruption.

v) Ahmad Sadiq, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. Arrested and bailed out thrice, harassed, hounded persecuted, this 65 years old official has been victimised repeatedly to make him give false statements . Not charged with corruption.

vi) Jamote & Najam, government official charged with not making money but fixing jobs.

vii) Najamuddin Sheikh, Foreign Secretary under Benazir Bhutto. Out of job because he was appointed by Benazir Bhutto. Penalised as part of political agenda.

viii) Zafar A. Hilaly, Addll. Secretary Foreign Affairs, appointed by Benazir Bhutto. Out of job and penalised as a part of political persecution.

ix) Masood Sharif, head of Intelligence Bureau under Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. Sleep deprivation torture, imprisoned to get him to frame Asif Zardari. Arrested not on corruption but murder investigation. Political persecution.

x) DIG Shoaib Siddle, SSP Wajid Durani and others who brought peace to Karachi and saved Pakistan , suspended or arrested because they happened to be posted in routine to the wrong place at a wrong time.

Charge - not corruption but investigation for murder of Mir Murtaza Bhutto. Persecuted in the hope that they might help the regime, fabricate a case to protect the killers of Murtaza Bhutto.

Suspended or imprisoned for seven long months as part of the political vendetta.

xi) Mrs. Raana Sheikh, MD, PTV sacked from Pakistan Television as a sop to extremist elements. Being threatened with false cases for liberal television coverage. Political persecution.

xii) Wajid Shamsul Hassan, former High Commissioner to Her Majesty's Court. Twice freed by the courts but not the authorities. He, who got the Labour Party in Britain to make solution of Kashmir dispute part of its agenda, punished and penalised for being a Benazir appointee. Suffering from diabetes, kidney and heart problems. Denied medical treatment. Political persecution.

xiii) Ghulam Asghar, head of FIA, suspended on non specified corruption charges, as a sop to extremist elements because he extradited Ramzi Yousaf of the New York Trade Centre Bombing.

vix) Rehman Malik, Addl. Director General FIA, arrested to satisfy extremist, for extradited Ramzi Yousaf. In prison for seven months for allegedly stealing one car. Man who led anti-corruption drive of PPP against Nawaz Sharif and PML. Political persecution.

xv) Zafar Leghari, former Minister, from Chief Minister Sindh's home district. So called accountability to settle district politics scores.

xvi) Nisar Khuhro, leader of opposition in Sindh Assembly, charge with murder of a man who died of a heart attack. Corruption or political persecution.

These are some examples - but they are at the heart of the so called anti-corruption drive.

It is obvious that each one of them is related to or worked for the former Prime Minister Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto.

The public have right to say cover up and vendetta in the name of accountability.

The public have a right to be dismayed.

There are three other cases worth mentioning.

Senator Saifur Rehman's investigation into a so called sex scandal. This raises moral questions and valid political questions.

Is the purpose of Saifur Rehman Accountability Cell to inquire into bank defaulters, tax invaders and corrupt elements or is the purpose to inquire into private lives of different individuals?

If so should not Qazi Hussain Ahmad be made incharge of the Sex Scandal Cell in the Prime Minister's Secretariat so that the colourful character in the Prime Minister's team can also be investigated.

Or is the purpose of Senator Saifur Rehman and the intelligence agencies (whom he is using and abusing) to fulfill a political agenda of persecution, a campaign of disinformation and distortion, and a massive criminal cover up of real corruption.

The two cases of corruption that seven months have thrown up are the Nayyer Bari case and the Schon Group case.

If the FIA has indeed found Rs. 1 billion in Bari's account, as reported in the media, why has the case not been prosecuted with?

As far as the Schon Group is concerned, it was lavishly favoured by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in Nawaz-1 Privatisation.

The regime should disclose what the Schon Group got from Nawaz-1 and Benazir-2. This will clearly show who favoured who.

The Schon Group was not the only group to whom Nawaz gave public sector units. List of all those that Nawaz-1 gave public sector units should be published to show real picture. Many of them did not pay their instalments. In the case of Suraj Ghee Mills, they shut the Factory, abandoned the workers and fled with the money.

The Schon Group is a respected business group of Pakistan. If any thing it should have a grudge against the PPP. The Schon Group got EXIM Bank approval, such is its international standing, for the financing of an oil refinery. It was unable to build the oil refinery despite EXIM Bank backing because the banks in Pakistan did not help and the Benazir government did not interfere in the workings of banks.

To sum up the hundred days of the Nawaz Sharif regime, one would conclude that there is no attempt to eliminate corruption.

In fact corrupt practices are being whitened.

And political opponents persecuted
To end corruption we need

1. Reform of judiciary.
2. Bipartisan leadership of prosecution and investigation to prevent collusion.
3. End of money laundering schemes.

A Sweet and Sour Budget
Federal Council Seminar
by Ms Benazir Bhutto
June 20, 1997

Ladies and Gentlemen:

1997-98 Budget is a sweet and sour Budget. Sweet from the perspective of business and industry. Spectators and carpet beggars.

Sour from peoples perspective: there is no quid pro quo for the massive mandate the rulers claim the poor people gave them.

It is business friendly because tax rates have been reduced. Whatever fragile instruments and were available for catching tax - evaders. Black marketers and carpet beggars have been destroyed. Revenue collection has been left to the mercy of hardened tax evaders.

It is unfriendly to people because further holes have been created in the revenue system through new exemptions.

It is unfriendly because peoples right of spending out of growing nominal GNP on their welfare, their social development and their poverty alleviation has been curtailed.

It is not Qarz Utaro Mulk Bachao Budget because the overall deficit will be Rs. 144 billion. Adding the repayment of foreign debt of Rs. 62 billion which is netted out for working our overall deficit, the gross borrowings will amount to Rs. 206 billion. That would add up at least Rs. 30 to 40 billion in interest costs to the Budget of the following year. This is just the beginning. This is based on very optimistic estimates of revenue collection. The total borrowing for the budget in 1997-98 may exceed Rs. 230 billion.

We have seen Sartaj promising overall fiscal deficit of 5 per cent of SDP thrice, in 1990-91, 1991-92, 1992-93, every time ending up with 8 to 9 percent.

It is a "Qarz Brhao Mulk Bigaro Budget.

Sartaj Budgets have always increased national debt.

We can put the economy and macro stability above self and above our popularity.

It has been alleged that four years ago WAPDA, PIA, OGDC, Gas companies were viable institutions and now they are crisis ridden. Who is responsible for this? These organisations development spendings used to be subject to scrutiny of the Ministry of Finance. The Nawaz 1st regime excluded WAPDA, OGDC, PTC and NHA from the Budget. They dismantled all disciplines and allowed a free hand in financial commitments. By 1993, these corporations were in such severe cash flow crisis, that when we took over, WAPDA found it impossible to renew its bonds even at 22% interest rate.

They have boasted of raising the Foreign Exchange Reserves by \$500 million to \$1 billion. They have not told the Nation that this is through additional short term liability of \$1.5 billion. Where has the remaining \$ 1 billion gone?

Sartaj Aziz has said that the growth in 1996-97 was 3.1%, lowest ever in eighties and nineties. Let us remind them that in 1992-93 they had the distinction of a GDP growth of 2.3%. The growth rate of 1996-97 for which our government is not "responsible"; has been deliberately depressed to show an improvement in 1997-98. How can these do 9% growth in manufactured exports in dollar terms with a decline of 1.4% in large scale manufacturers when the bulk of our exports are textile goods.

Even this exaggerated growth of 6% in 1997-98 does not promise the supply side miracle dreamt by Nawaz Sharif regime.

5% growth in agriculture would only mean that there will be no damage through floods and drought and the targets of 1996-97 will be achieved in 1997-98.

Much of the promised growth of 7% in the manufacturing section will be correction of under estimation of growth in 1996-97.

The budget speech concedes our success in energy generation. But for our bold initiative, our industrial sector would have continued to suffocate under the dark shadows of chronic power shortage. WAPDA was unable to mobilise resources even for its on-going projects.

This tax-free, effort free-Budget has throttled the development process. The total PSDP of Rs. 90 billion which Rs. 80 billion in terms of 1996-97 value is far below the Rs. 106 billion announced by in for 1996-97.

This Budget is unable to achieve any one of the many sweet dream of the dreamer, the proponents of the supply side miracles and author of Voodoo economics. It will halt the pace of progress in social sectors and agriculture infrastructures, the two areas thoroughly neglected during 1977-88. The largest irrigation system boasted by Sartaj Aziz is in shambles. Forty percent of irrigation water is wasted and 35% of arable land has lost its fertility.

The Peoples government had raised the allocation for water - sector from Rs. 8 billion to Rs. 13 billion realising that water is a lifeline of our country. The water development and water management is key to the prosperity of the rural poor and for that matter Pakistan.

The Budget for 1997-98 provides a mere Rs. 10 billion if we met out the short fall which is a euphemism for reduced releases.

When the peoples government was formed in November 1993, the Federal Development Budget for Education was only 0.4 billion. In three years we raised the allocation to Rs. 1.6 billion in 1996-97. The Caretakers and Nawaz Sharif Government drastically curtailed the development Budget for Education to half of the budgeted amount.

We had doubled the spending on Social Action Programme in two years from Rs. 26 billion in 1992-93 to Rs. 54 billion in 1995-96.

This budget allocates only Rs 0.0 billion for Education and Training in the PSDP compared to Rs 1.6 billion allocated in 1997-98 Budget. It is less than half in real terms. It is because of our commitment to Education that 35,000 new primary schools were built in three years and the adult literacy moved up from 35% in 1992-93 to 40% in 1996-97. With this lukewarm attitude towards Education Nawaz Sharif Government cannot achieve any of its lofty targets.

We raised the expenditure on Education from 2.15% of GDP to 2.52 % of GDP. It is because of drastic cuts made by our successors that the spending has come down to 2.40% of GDP in 1996-97.

It would have been much better if Nawaz Sharif has mustered some courage, and used its mandate to enhance Development spending. Reduction of PSDP to about 3% of GDP and within that higher attractions to Motorway and highways would accentuate the acute deficiency in infrastructure which has held down the growth rate. The World Bank estimates an investment requirement of \$ 100 billion in physical infrastructure to support a growth of % in GDP in the next 5 - 7 years.

How we can achieve any of laudable objectives stated in the Budget speech with a deceleration in budgeted development spending.

This tax-free Budget will retard the process of socio-economic development of the People of Pakistan.

Even the paltry resource mobilisation of Rs 10 billion is based on airy fairy assumptions. Sartaj should have used the peoples mandate to enforce documentation in the economy and extend GST to retail in one go. We did away with all exemptions at manufacturing and import stage in our very first budget. This budget has made fiscal viability vague and distant. This Budget has shorn the government of its ability to collect adequate resources from the rich and spend on the poor. The Budget has further enmeshed the debt trap.

This Budget has made Atta, Vegetable Ghee and Sugar more expensive but on the other hand it has mobile phone cheaper, it has made Pepsi, Coca Cola, all beverages and concentrates cheaper. This Budget enhances the profitability of owners of beverage industry (PML statements). This Budget gives a gift of 7.5% of ex-factory price to cement producers who had acquired the cement plants at throw away prices and made huge escalation in prices within six months (Mansha). Now that they have a business friendly Government they must have their pound of flesh.

Can we afford to give more tax holidays. Direct taxes are payable only if there are net profits.

Can we afford to encourage consumption of beverages based on imported concentrates when we can encourage domestic juices and drinks industry. Should Government borrow more on short term to boost beverage industry.

Should Government loosen its grip on tax-evaders.

Should it whiten the ill-gotten wealth for a paltry contribution.

Should it decelerate the public spending on projects in Social and Agriculture infrastructure sectors.

Should the massive mandate not be used for the service of the people.

Should the government must courage to tax the rich for the benefit of the poor.

I leave these questions to the people for their answer.

National Security

by Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto

Former Prime Minister of Pakistan and Leader of the Opposition

At All Pakistan Representatives Meeting of the Pak

Lahore - June 29, 1997

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In the old days national security depended as much as it does today on the economic well being of a state. Civilizations sprung up on river beds. However, when the river turned direction, the old settlements often collapsed.

The economic security of a state is defended by its sons and daughters through adequate military strength to defend it from aggression.

The Cold War with its emphasis on ideology and the defence of the ideological frontiers of the Capitalist versus Communist World blinded many to the intricacies of the economic factors so important in shaping the destiny of Nations.

With the collapse of the Cold War, we have returned to the era that prevailed prior to it. What was the era which confronted the world before the strategic compulsions of the Cold War became a factor?

When industrialized Europe began needing raw materials, it set off for the shores of the America, Africa and Asia. They came first as traders, for mutual benefit. But then as their investment increased, they began to worry about the composition of the ruling monarchies and whether they were suitable or not for their trading interests. If they found themselves at a perceived disadvantage, they began to think of changing the rulers. Then, like Caesar's Praetorian Guard they began to wonder why they could not become rulers themselves. If they could pick the rulers, they might as well become the rulers.

Thus dawned the age of colonialism.

Now that the Cold War is over, the world of the Trade Wars has begun. While most of the countries of East Europe, Asia, Latin America were delighted with the return of freedom and the end of tyranny, new ground rules were being laid for a trade world weighted against the developing Nations.

Most countries were only too happy to sign the World Trade Organization which pledged to reduce tariffs or taxes to make trade competitive. Most of the

developing countries thought that this meant that the West was opening its markets to the developing countries. That revenues lost through tariff reduction would be made up through Sales Tax. This has proved to be incorrect. Developing countries do not have the educational threshold or the documentation necessary or the technology available to make this possible.

What tariff reduction actually does is make foreign goods cheaper and our own goods less attractive.

It is no secret that a sleeping Asia is about to emerge from its slumber to take its place in the twenty first century. The large markets of Asia, the large population of Asia is a great temptation for the West.

The markets of the West are saturated. Their economies are largely facing recession. Their factories produce goods which do not sell in their markets. Hence they need our markets. Hence the demand to lower tariffs. But once tariffs are reduced we find ourselves in double trouble.

Firstly, we suffer huge losses in revenue which forces us to borrow. Borrowing means we have to pay more in interest repayments. And whom do we borrow from? Naturally largely from the West which has available capital to lend. Next, western goods become attractive. A writer once wrote that the age of globalization has spawned a global culture. To attain a status or respect in this global culture it is necessary to acquire the status symbols of the global culture. The status symbol of the upper middle classes is the same: Designer clothes, Rolex watches, Ray Ban eye glasses, Gucci bags, Versace jeans, Walls Ice cream, coca cola and Mac Donald's along with Kentucky fried chicken. Thus the more foreign goods our people demand the more of the global currency, namely the dollar is needed by us. Either we need dollars to buy Western imported goods or else Westerners invest here and repatriate in dollars the profits that they make. This adds to a squeeze on our dollar reserves. After all a country can only have as many dollars as its exports permit. From the export earnings we have to make our debt repayments, our essential imports such as wheat, edible oil and POL, buy our defence equipment and still have enough for the industrialized elite to import their favourite brand of perfume, cigarette or pen. The result is that massive tariff reductions mean we need more dollars than we earn and to boost our dollar reserves we end up devaluating to make our exports more attractive. The devaluation immediately adds enormous amounts to our debt repayment bill, our import bill and our defence bill. Imagine a dollar borrowed at twenty rupees has to be repaid at Rs. 40/. How can we doubly tax our people to repay a dollar that we borrowed at half the price and still make progress?

When Samuel Huntington spoke at Davos in 1994 about the clash of cultures between the Christian and the Muslim world, he was not really talking about a cultural clash but about a market clash. He was boldly stating that the Christian Judaic Hindu civilization had to make a pact to dominate the Asian markets which were made up of the Muslim and Confucian people and races. Thus the Muslim-Confucian arc is seen as the formidable and fertile market for which the West and the East will be competing. But the West cannot maintain its standards of living unless it captures the markets of Asia.

Thus while we may speak of a world of free trade, a world of competition, a world of lowered tariffs we are already discovering that invisible tariffs are being set up. Sometimes in the name of human rights, sometimes in the name of child labour, sometimes in the name of the environment. In one form or another invisible tariff barrier is set up to ensure that there is no even playing field.

Pakistan has a pivotal role to play in the game of Trade Wars. Pakistan is the only Muslim country with an ability to defend its markets with nuclear or missile deterrence should the situation arise. More worrisome for those who see a clash of civilizations is the alliance that could build between China, Pakistan, East Asia and Japan. This bloc would be a formidable one in bargaining with the developed countries in relation to equal access to markets and thereby equal opportunity for prosperity.

We have seen that Nations were carved up at the Yalta Conference by the Big Three: Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin. These states we know of today came about as they ran their pens through maps. Some today wonder whether it would not be more convenient to deal with small compact states? If there was a world with one big power and lots of small ethnic states it would be so much easier to govern from some peoples perspectives.

And if, God forbid, Pakistan were to collapse through internal economic collapse as the Soviet Union did, would that not be a convenient solution to its persistent and insistent proliferation efforts. Imagine if Kahuta was in one state, the stocks of fissile material in another, the missiles in a third, the testing ground in a fourth there would be no need to have a roll back at all.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I believe Pakistan today faces a grave crisis.

The Sartaj strangulation Budget has placed Pakistan in greater debt. Revenue shortfalls are going to be greater because tax evasion has been made easier. Corruption has been legalized with money whitening incentives. The deficit is going to be wider. Sartaj is bringing this Nation to its knees, just as he did in 1993 when Moeen Quereshi declared the country bankrupt.

That our vulnerability has grown is evident from several factors namely:

Our Prime Minister says of his Indian counterpart coincidentally brought to power at the same time as him, "I really like that man". And what does that man do? He gets our airspace violated and places Indian short-range missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads a stones throw from us in Jullunder.

The manner in which Aimal Kansi was reportedly kidnapped is again a matter of concern.

We hear talk that our own politicians are "corrupt" and that we need good Pakistani expatriates to come and save us. This reminds me of the beginning of colonialism. Our rulers should be replaced by the new Brown Sahibs, those with dual nationalities, dual loyalties, dual homes and dual jobs. I do not believe they would come to save us. I believe they would come to hasten our demise.

The Islamic parties have no positive economic programme either. They are bent upon making the system unworkable so that they can seize power. Armies do not march on empty stomachs nor do nations survive on starvation diets. We need an economic programme of revival. We need to stop borrowing but we cannot. Our macho sense gets the better of us and we borrow at commercial rates to increase our debt rather than pay back our debt first. Witness the huge amount we are borrowing at the commercial rates to build the Islamabad-Peshawar Motorway. We need to attract investment. Instead we drive away investors. Witness the Ketī Bandar Power Project.

I believe that the Pakistan Peoples Party has the vision, the experience and the knowledge to come up with innovative plans for economic revival. During our term in office we tripled the growth rate, narrowed the trade gap, brought down the budget deficit by 3 points, repaid one billion dollars of debt, made Pakistan self sufficient in energy, reduced the population growth rate, increased exports, tax revenues and expenditure on education. We won a gold medal from the World Health Organization for our anti polio campaign and lady health workers programme. We did this while saving Pakistan from the threat of being declared a terrorist State, preventing a unilateral roll back of our peaceful nuclear programme, getting the Brown amendment passed, which resulted in receiving one billion dollars in cash aside from sophisticated military equipment and brought peace to Karachi. However, we were unable to save the country from palace intrigues and therefore Pakistan suffered yet another set back in political stability. The nation had to pay a heavy economic price for the President's decision to sack the government.

The President made such an economic mess of the country that we are sinking in the abyss. The supply side economics practiced by the regime has worsened the situation. The country needs to immediately reduce debt and enhance agricultural production while making the transition to a software state. We are a textile state but no longer competitive in the international market with countries like Bangladesh having cheaper labour costs. Therefore incentives for the textile spinning sector is simply putting a sand bag in front of raging flood waters.

Therefore we need a national plan of survival. But no single political party can do it on its own. We, the political parties, the armed forces, the bureaucracy the judiciary and the intelligence services must together pool our experiences and our ideas to take Pakistan out of the coming catastrophe. No one can do it on their own. The PML cannot do it with supply side economics. Qazi Hussain Ahmad cannot do it by hanging 2000 people. The military cannot do it advised by "technocrats"(witness the latest foolish Farooq adventure when Shahid Javed Burki came, wrecked and went away).

We need, in this Golden Jubilee Year of ours, to unite under one banner, one platform and one agenda to save Pakistan by saving it from economic collapse.

And that is why we need a National Government of Survival.

The people of Pakistan deserve a better tomorrow. Let us admit, for one reason or another all of us have failed in giving this to our people. We should do something about it before it is too late.

Post Cold War World

Benazir Bhutto - Leader of Opposition

Sri Lanka - 25th July 1997

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The style of parliamentary government depends on in house debates, open to all members of the public. Parliamentary debates have given prominence to many a backbencher. Indeed, parliamentary debates have enriched anecdotal history.

Parliamentary debates are at the heart of a democracy. As Winston Churchill said, "Democracy is the worst form of government, apart from all the rest".

Perhaps Winston Churchill was sub consciously replying to Mark Twain who once said, "Democracy is about counting heads - not what's in them".

Both Pakistan and Sri Lanka have parliamentary systems born from Westminster, the mother of parliaments.

Both of us were part of an empire on which the sun never set.

But that, it is said, was because God could never trust the English in the dark.

Of course Elections are not only about winning but also about losing.

There is nothing as wonderful as the warmth of a triumph and nothing as dismal as the chill of a loss.

But, as democrats, each one of us have to accept victory and defeat with equal grace knowing that each victory can be followed by a defeat and each defeat by a victory. So we, who are in the opposition, accept the verdict of the people and do not say, with Adlai Stephenson, as he did when he lost, "The people have spoken the so and so's".

However as we head towards a new century and a new millennium, a century born after the demise of the cold war, a century which many call as Asia Century, a millennium dominated by the Information Highway, I am reminded of the words of Oscar Wilde who said, "The two weak points of our age are want of principle and want of profile".

This is the world of Information. The flip side of information is disinformation. I should know, having been the victim of a disinformation campaigns, not once but twice.

I believe the attacks against the two administrations I headed are symptomatic of a universal deterioration of dialogue in politics.

The search for political consensus, the main characteristic of a democratic society, has degenerated into partisan hysteria.

This is new phenomenon. Consensus, civility and comity have been replaced with the paranoia of partisanship.

Let me read you some thoughts that capture what I am trying to say to you today.

"Partisan politics is polluting our most important legal and ethical processes . . . and is damaging our political system. Proceedings, while billed as impartial,

have become little more than 'witch hunts' designed to humiliate the opposing political party".

"The scandal machine that has developed bankrupts individuals, who are little more than pawns in larger political agendas. It threatens the ability of the political system to attract and retain the bright, dedicated people that our nation deserves".

This is not written about Pakistan, but it might as well be.

What I have quoted to you are the words of President Clinton's lawyer.

In the United States, even a discussion on the ratification of a ban on chemical weapons takes on the character and rhetoric of a partisan war.

And the trend is consistent across the continents.

Four Indian Prime Ministers within one calendar year have changed, governments disintegrating not over policy, but over politics, not over program but over opportunism.

A peace process in Middle East is allowed to be frozen and come precipitously close to unraveling, while the political attention of Israel seems riveted by innuendo and scandal.

In Bangladesh, the ruling party and the opposition interchanges almost identical strategies of parliamentary boycotts and street disruptions, as power shifts from one party to another.

And the Supreme Court of Pakistan ruled that a government enjoying the confidence of parliament and people can be sacked on the basis of unsubstantiated press reports in media dominated by five barons.

Additionally in Pakistan, the democratic concept of accountability has been made to stand on its head, to be inverted, to become a weapon of authoritarianism. Accountability has become a mechanism of brutal victimization, directed exclusively at me, my family, my Party and those involved in my government.

Those who came before us - even military dictators who governed by martial law decree, are held above the law.

And, this too, is a universal trend. Media trials, such as the White Water issue in the United States, are used to detract attention from the working of a government.

In India the Rao government collapsed under charges and counter charges of corruption.

No one knows whether the charges are true or false.

In the old days the press could not report on subjudice matters. But now opinions and conclusions are formed on the basis of news paper reports. Hearsay, speculation and rumour taken over from the cold reason of an argument in a court room.

The atmosphere is vitiated to such an extent that one sometimes wonders whether a fair trial can take place against such a background.

I recently read that a friend of the Clinton's Susan Mc Dongal has moved a writ claiming she is being ill-treated in prison where obscenities are shouted at her to force her to breakdown.

We, in Pakistan, can empathize with that, having seen Party members, family members and officials, imprisoned for long months, exhausting financial savings on lawyers, in harsh conditions in an attempt to force a false confession or come up with tainted evidence.

Ladies and gentlemen:

The world has witnessed significant changes, through different ages, which has each influenced, in its own fashion, the tone and tenor of politics.

The Iron Age gave way to the Agrarian Age which was eventually replaced by the Industrial Era.

We are now watching the sun set not only on a century but an age. Not only the cold war era of urban politics brought about by the Industrial Revolution.

We are entering the Information Age. An age where opinions will be formed on the basis of what we see or hear, irrespective of whether what we see or hear is accurate or inaccurate.

Soon public meeting and mass contact will diminish as personal communication is replaced with electronic communication. Appearances will have as much force as ideas.

This is a new world.

We, in South Asia, need to equip ourselves to defend democracy and freedom, to defend the politics of the people with these new tools. Otherwise authoritarian forces will gather once again to wage a propaganda war against the true leaders of the people and to force anti-people governments on our nations.

For our Nations are the Nations of the future.

We have the markets with our large common populations.

The end of colonial rule on Hong Kong is significant.

It marks the end of colonialism. It marks the emergence of Asian Nations demanding to be treated as equals.

With the end of the Cold War the world of trade wars has started. This is the world dominated by multi-nationals springing largely from the developed world. These multi-nationals are the main source of political funding in the Western countries.

The developed countries need our markets to keep the terms of trade in their favour, need governments that look not at the cost in human terms, but the profit in fiscal terms.

The factories of the developed world cannot get dividends unless the emerging markets of Asia are held hostage to the developed world's commercial interest. For this puppet leaders are necessary who follow the developed world's prescriptions to safe guard the interests of the developed countries.

Those who are seen as a threat to developed world's agriculture or industrial interests will face economic sabotage a physiological warfare waged through propaganda.

Can a compromise be reached or is a clash between the Developed Christian World and the Emerging Asian Muslim --- Confucian World inevitable?

Only time will tell. But as the world turns another round, it is important for Asian leaders to consult between themselves, to learn from each others'

experiences and build a bargaining position from which the rights of Asian people are balanced against the commercial interests of the developed world.

For the developed world has powerful instruments at its disposal to cripple emerging Asian markets. International financial institutions are but one lever. Crashing the stock market by withdrawing funds a second. Withdrawing foreign exchange and affecting the balance of payments a third. Erecting invisible tariff barriers by exploiting global values, such as human rights and child labour, a fourth.

Ladies and gentlemen :

As Anura Bandaranaike celebrates two decades for democracy in Sri Lanka, always remember the fragility of democratic institutions throughout the region of South Asia.

Let us walk on into the new millennium with hope and with vision, but always aware of the dangers and threats to our fundamental political rights always lurking in the hearts and plots of the next set of conspirators against democracy.

Let us learn from the past, to protect the future.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Defends PPP's Power Policy
Speech of Ms Benazir Bhutto
Karachi - July 28, 1997

Leader of the Opposition and former prime minister Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto has denounced the Ehtesab Cell's assertion Saturday claiming to have uncovered fraud worth billions of rupees in the PPP government's power policy involving the former prime minister and her husband Asif Ali Zardari and directed her counsel Babar Awan to initiate legal proceedings against the Ehtesab Cell and its chief Senator Saifur Rahman for defaming opposition leader through the charade of media trial.

Benazir Bhutto signed the wakalatname Sunday morning and Counsel Babar Awan is preparing the legal notice to be served on the Ehtesab Cell. In a statement issued in Karachi the former prime minister said that allegations of the Ehtesab Cell with regard to the PPP government's power policy were no more than a drama, political stunt at aimed at victimisation of political opponents and defaming the opposition leader and her husband. She said she was being victimised by a coterie of bank loan defaulters, tax evader and drug pushers

because her government had exposed them and decided to tighten the noose around them.

She said the energy policy of the previous PPP government was approved by the cabinet after due deliberations and was described by the World Bank as a role model for the developing countries of the third world. Leading international investors and leaders in the field of energy including U.S energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary had hailed Pakistan's energy policy.

Benazir Bhutto said she was ready for a public debate on the energy policy of the PPP government which she said was her government's singular achievement in the field of infrastructure development and ranked next only to the restoration of peace in Karachi during her second term in office. She said that before endorsing the policy the cabinet and the experts had thoroughly examined and debated the two broad areas of concern and criticism. These she said were i) the relative increase in power tariffs ii) and creation of excess power capacity in the country.

The power tariffs she said are bound to go up whenever new plants are set up because of the higher capital costs required to finance new capacity. The question to be addressed was which of the two systems namely the public sector or the private sector would be economically more efficient. A World Bank study and our own experts reports suggested that the private sector was more efficient. According to these studies, she said the average annual tariff increase required by the private sector programme was 14.3 percent compared to 18.3 percent required by WAPDA. She said that under the energy policy of her government the tariff increases were so distributed that except for the first two years 1997 and 1998, when the bulk of the private power was to come on stream, tariff increases significantly declined to eventually become negative in subsequent years. This was in sharp contrast with the way tariff increases took place in the Wapda system, where tariff increases are necessary to meet the investment requirements well in advance of the projects coming on stream.

Pakistan's private power programme is competitive relative to other countries as was borne by an IFC study and that was why there was a talk in India of buying electric power from Pakistan, she said.

Benazir Bhutto said that the fear of a glut in power production was also addressed and it was concluded that it was unfounded keeping in view the very low level of electric power consumption in Pakistan vis a vis other countries in the region. She said Pakistan had an average per capita consumption of 435 kwh as against 1150 kwh in Turkey, 1100 in Iran and 850 in Egypt. The glut fear, she said, was unfounded when viewed in the backdrop of the fact that against an estimated demand for 3000 MW during the Eighth plan, applications for more

than 24000 MW were received. Still, the government restricted the issuance of letters of support (LoS) for only about 6000 MW, with margin for drop outs.

Benazir Bhutto said that she can not recall off hand technical figures but does remember the base scenario prepared by the World Bank at the time of the appraisal of the Ghazi Barotha project in November 1995. According to this report she said, that taking into account the ongoing power projects and the Ghazi Barotha, an additional 5000-6000 Mw capacity still needed to be implemented by the private sector.

Talking about the specific allegation relating to the sale of Kot Addu power plant Benazir Bhutto ridiculed the Redco Cell's allegation. She asked Nawaz Sharif to go through the relevant files more carefully and he will discover that the transparency in the sale was welcomed and appreciated even by the party which had lost the bid. This she said was unprecedented and people like Mian Nawaz Sharif and Senator Saifur Rahman who have known only loot and plunder through underhand deals can not even understand much less appreciate such above board transparency. She said that if her government was to patronise any private party then the WAK power project of Senator Waqar would not have complained of an 'unfair deal' meted out to them and their power project would have been the first to come on line.

Regarding the transmission line (Lahore-Jamshoro) Benazir Bhutto said that her government was proceeding so cautiously in the matter that even the then British Prime Minister Mr. John Major wrote her a letter. The contents of the letter is a sufficient proof to rebut allegation of Nawaz regime that her government was in a hurry to imprudently award the contract. Benazir Bhutto demanded that the letter of John Major should also be shown on the T.V. by the Nawaz regime for putting the record straight.

Benazir Bhutto said she was not surprised with the latest tirade of Ehtesab Cell. Whenever she goes abroad the cell comes out with such fictitious stories to tarnish her image and harass her. She said that on her first trip abroad her political secretary was off loaded from the plane, on the second trip her aid Munawar Suhrawardy was detained and now a 76 year old ex POW was threatened to produce his son, a U.S. citizen, failing which he and his entire family members will be arrested.

Benazir Bhutto said she was not afraid of these tactics and would fight back the looters, the tyrants and the brigands comprising of Nawaz Sharif and his coterie.

International Women's Leadership Forum
Message from Ms Benazir Bhutto
San Francisco, California September 25, 1997

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is an honour for me to be able to communicate with you today, on tape.

I had very much wanted to be with you in person in San Francisco, but due to the continuing physical and legal harassment of my family, myself and my political party by the Islamabad regime, it was impossible for me to leave the country at this critical moment.

Distinguished friends,

I have great empathy for that amazing leader of democracy, Aung San Suu Kyi, who of course could not be with you today, because she would not be allowed to return to her country if she left. Suu Kyi, the democratically elected leader of Burma is in constant danger, under constant threat, a vulnerable yet brave inspiration to us all.

I had wished to be with the International Leadership Forum because it would have given me the opportunity to talk, exchange information and network with a truly extraordinary group of women who have overcome all obstacles and succeeded in politics, government, business, the academy and the arts.

Women like Kim Campbell, the former Prime Minister of the great western country of Canada, who overcame barriers and obstacles and bigots to lead her Party and her nation through a most difficult period of Canadian history. Knowing all odds were against her did not stop her from assuming leadership. She is a model of determination and grace.

I wanted to be with the extraordinary group of renaissance women assembled in San Francisco today, who have broken ceilings and broken ground -- often at considerable personal cost, so that my daughters Baktawar and Asifa, and billions like them across the planet, will someday have limitless opportunities for growth, development and productivity.

All of us gathered together today have a dream. We who sacrificed much, suffered much but struggled on to achieve success dream that our daughters and grand daughters will not have to face, the discriminatory barriers that have been put in our paths -- yours and mine -- by those entrenched forces who even

today cling to the shreds of the status quo, immobilized by fear of social, economic, cultural and political change.

As we cross into a new century and new millennium, we should take stock of where we were, where we are, and where we are going.

The twentieth century was a century which witnessed two world wars the rise of Communism, the holocaust, the dominance of dictatorial regimes of oppression and tyranny. A century where states often sought to crush the dignity of men and women. But in the twilight of this century the indomitable spirit of humankind rose to arrest itself. From the ashes of the cold war arose an era marked by universal demands for freedom, for democracy, for dignity for men and yes, more important, for woman. A world dawned which witnessed the emergence of a global value system based on human rights. All of us gathered here today believe that any denial of human rights -- the right to life, to liberty, to self-determination, liberty, to gender equality... the right to equal opportunity to education, to jobs, to health care, to housing -- any abridgment of these fundamental human rights is unconscionably and inexcusably inhumane.

Those who are gathered believe and justice and modernity.

These were the principles that guided me in my two terms as Prime Minister of Pakistan.

The team I led propelled Pakistan into the modern era, where our children would be trained in the technologies of the 21st century for the jobs of the third millennium. Where our country would become a heaven for investment, a crossroads between the ancient silk routes and the west.

Our restoration of macroeconomic stability was the centerpiece to our modernization program. It was the impetus for insuring the confidence of businessmen and businesswomen throughout the world in the economic potential of Pakistan.

As a measure of our success, foreign investment in Pakistan during my second term as Prime Minister was 5 times larger than the foreign investment in Pakistan in the previous 25 years combined!

Our priority was nation building. Our goal was to rebuild the infrastructure of our nation to make Pakistan an economic leader in our region and in the world of the new century. And in large measure, we succeeded:

We tackled the problem of power shut downs which had crippled our economy by providing incentives to the energy sector. The World Bank called our energy program a role model to the entire developing world.

We brought our energy revolution directly to the people of Pakistan. In 3 years we successfully electrified over 21,000 villages in our rural areas with the aim of electrifying every village in Pakistan.

We built 30,000 primary schools to bring the light of knowledge to our children. We recruited 53,000 teachers, 70 per cent of them women for these new schools.

When I became Prime Minister one in five children born with polio in the world was a Pakistani. As a mother, that was not a statistic I was prepared to live with. So we launched an anti-polio campaign which international bodies called the most successful in the world.

As one of the nine most populated countries in the world, population control remained a priority for us. I traveled to Cairo to attend the UN sponsored conference on Population Welfare. Our government introduced programs to reduce Pakistan's population growth rate from 3.1% to 2.6%. And for this we recruited 50,000 Lady Health Workers who went from home to home educating women on how to take charge of their lives, their families and their destiny.

As a modern woman, I sought to make Pakistan a modern state. Our government introduced the information revolution, bringing fax machines into every office, cellular telephones into every business and CNN into every home with a television. We opened up our society by opening up minds.

It was, my friends, a miraculous transformation of a society, a transformation that cannot be negated by personal attacks upon me. What we accomplished -- concretely and specifically -- is my legacy to the 130 million people of Pakistan.

Distinguished friends,

Soon we shall be entering a new millennium.

It is more than a millennium that we are crossing. It is a fundamental charge in the way people live, in how nations conduct themselves.

With the explosion of information and technology that has taken place over the last two decades, the world has changed dramatically. It is nothing short of a revolution brought about not by guns and bullets, but by Pentium chips and megabytes of information.

Because of open communication, people all over the world were exposed in a very real sense to freedom -- freedom to chose political leaders, freedom to pursue education and careers, freedom for consumers, freedom of the press and religion.

Access to information, the real key to social, political and economic change, is now within reach of almost everyone on earth, in huts as well as cities, in villages as well as villas, to the daughters of beggars as well as the sons of barons.

The internet is the great equalizer. The technology which emanated from the Silicon Valley of California has more potential to ameliorate social inequality than any development in the history of the world, including the industrial revolution.

With the globalization of information and technology, has come a remarkable globalization of relations between states.

The most recent political and economic manifestation of this trend is the creation of the World Trade Organization, which is the first institutional step, to the demise of the closed nation-state as we have known it for a thousand years.

Open trade, open communications, open borders and a universal international culture are creating an emerging class of new citizens of a new world, a global citizen with a global outlook for a world of global values.

A global culture is emerging with global values. A culture and a value system which recognizes no territorial boundaries.

The way we dress, speak, eat is becoming increasingly similar. What we see, what we hear from news on CNN, to computers from IBM is also becoming similar. Our demands are also similar -- democracy, freedom, equality.

The successor generations of young people have the greatest opportunity for insuring a pluralistic and tolerant and global 21st century. Today's young, your children and mine, are the children of the future, of the new century, the new world, the new information state.

They are the ones who will move from the trees of the past to the forests of the future.

They are the ones who will leave behind a past, a past of their mothers, where mothers had to prove we could and would succeed. They will enter a future where a woman's right to work, to achieve; to succeed will be taken for granted.

I pray that my daughters, and your, will enter a future where women are not mocked at, scoffed at or scandalized simply because we are women.

I pray for a future for our daughters and grand daughters where women are respected for their talent, education, their work, and their intelligence.

In that future lies are vindication.

God bless you, and Godspeed.

**Clash of Civilizations:
The Centre for World Dialogue
by Benazir Bhutto
Cyprus - 30th October 1997**

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a pleasure to meet you today on the island of Cyprus, which is a most appropriate venue to discuss the complex political, cultural, moral and religious intersections between Islam and the West.

It was only four years ago that Harvard Professor Samuel Huntington shocked the world with his contentious monograph on the subject entitled "Clash of Civilizations".

As a Muslim woman who has been educated in the United States and the United Kingdom, I was initially appalled by the specter of inevitable conflict that he outlined. I particularly disagreed with Huntington's unshakable pessimism about the emerging clash between the west and an increasingly self-confident and economically independent Islamic world.

Four years after I heard Prof. Huntington speak at Davos, I have moderated my own initial response to Prof. Huntington's thesis of a clash between civilizations. I do not subscribe to its inevitability but his article has served as a useful mechanism to bring to the forefront of intellectual attention significant issues that warrant debate.

Whether we like it or not, whether it must be so or not, the world seems to be increasingly looking at the values and mores of the West, and the values and traditions of Islam, as mutually exclusive and confrontational.

Let's explore these issues to day.

The world is very different place now than it was just ten years ago. At that point the nuclear threat was omnipresent. The Cold War raged on between the West and the Soviet bloc, reaching a boiling point in the battle for self determination for Afghanistan.

It was the common stand of the Islamic world through the Fifties, and Sixties, and Seventies and Eighties that was central to the containment of Communism on the Asian continent.

It was victory of the Mujahideen, the Islamic freedom fighters, supported by the forces of freedom all over the world, that extinguished the fading embers of a dying system.

Islamic resistance to the Soviets in Afghanistan proved, once and for all, that the Soviet Union could not, with all of its military might, suppress the forces of history and the forces of justice.

Afghanistan proved that might does not make right. Afghanistan proved that at least sometimes, and some place on this earth, right makes might.

I remember vividly my feelings on February 15th, 1989 when as Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan I witnessed the final withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. The Western and Islamic world jointly celebrated this victory for freedom and for democracy.

Little did we realize at the glorious moment, that the victory in Afghanistan would be a catalyst to a curious corollary. The West's interest in, and need for alliance, with the Islamic world would steadily deteriorate with time!

Interdependence gave way to indifference. Indifference has, in many ways, been replaced by contempt.

Many in the west would like to think of us as terrorists and fanatics. We are neither, Muslims expect nothing from the West but basic respect. Mine is a religion that sanctifies Abraham, Moses and Jesus as Prophets.

Ladies and Gentlemen, The Communist threat united the Western and Muslim world. The Western world was rich, the Muslim world poor. The alliance between the West and the East led to the transfer of vast resources from one continent to another. In Pakistan alone, we received \$ 4.2 billion of military and economic assistance, which sustained our economy. Other Muslim countries saw an influx of finances from one of the two super powers. The end of Super power politics heralded the end of the world of aid. Suddenly Muslim countries were economically at a disadvantage. The end of superpower politics also heralded the end of an alliance. The West no longer needed the Muslim countries to contain communism. But the end of superpower politics heralded something far more significant: a power vacuum. Each generation and each civilization needs to unite against a common threat. A vacuum cannot remain a vacuum for long. The power vacuum caused by the end of the cold war coincided with a historical economic shift.

Since the end of World War II, newly emergent independent nation states had been involved in national reconstruction. While the economies of the West appeared to have reached saturation point, the economies of the Muslim and Christian world seemed poised for an economic take off. Resources are finite. Therefore the transfer of resources from one part of the world to another indicates the enrichment of one part at the expense of another. The demise of Communism lifted the strategic blinkers and opened the optic vision of a world of markets. Suddenly the West realized that the inexorable march of history would announce a reversal of roles. Whereas in the past era, the Muslim countries (and Confucian countries) were dependent on the West for territorial security, suddenly the West was on the brink of an era of dependence on Asian/Muslim/Confucian markets. Historical fears reared their heads, for the West meets Islam at the doorway of Europe. Irrespective of whether it looks East or West, it sees the world of Islam. A world that had once knocked on its doors and threatened conquest. The Islamic/Asian World on the other hand, feels let down at the unceremonious way in which the alliance and with it the concurrent economic assistance ended. Conscious of its economic potential, the world of Islam wonders whether the West will allow the principles of Free Trade to work when free trade could mean a disadvantage to a dominant West and an advantage to a rising East.

Many Muslim countries view global values such as child labour, Human Rights, Environment as attempts by the West to erect invisible barriers to prevent free competition. Of course, Muslim countries subscribe to the global values aimed at protecting human rights, promoting the environment and ending child labour. But when they see a West selective in its application of global values, they wonder whether the West wishes to promote a new global partnership or use these values as a tool to tame markets. This is a serious misgiving which needs

tackling. Many Pakistanis wonder why the West is vocal about human rights violations in Burma but silent about human rights violations in Pakistan, Kashmir and other parts of the Muslim world. The Muslim World embraced the economics of deregulation and privatization. Foreign funds were invested in its markets. But now there is a growing fear whether these foreign funds will be used for economic or political purposes - for instance, will contracts be given on merit or will countries be punished with withdrawal of foreign funds leading to erosion of balance of payments if a contract is not given to a favoured company in a favoured country.

I read an article in Vanity Fair (July 1997) that the rise of Kabila in Zaire had something to do with the grant of mining rights to a Western country. Let me give you the case of Pakistan. As Prime Minister I tried to diversify Pakistan markets between the West, the Gulf and East Asia. Although there was a quantum leap forward for Western companies during my stewardship of Pakistan, at least one diplomat considered me a threat to the commercial and agricultural interests of his country, although his country got billions more in contracts during my tenure than any other. As an Asian and a Muslim I wanted the Gulf and East Asia to have a share of our market. And many in Pakistan believe I paid a heavy price for that.

The West has a vital stake in the markets of the Muslim World. That stake gives rise to fears and insecurities in the minds of Western analysts. The Muslim countries welcome deregulation but also see it as a vulnerability for the powerful western companies to dictate contracts or for their countries to dictate a political agenda. This mutual suspicion is at an incipient stage. Prof. Huntington must be credited with scenting it so precisely at a time when the rest of us were caught up in the warm glow of global brotherhood, peace and harmony.

To compound the rise of mutual suspicion is the rise of the Information age. The Information age is dominated by Western cultural moves. These Western moves are at a variance with the cultural taste of the Muslim countries. Many in the Muslim countries believe that Western culture is characterized by the indulgent individual. An indulgent individual which puts himself/herself above church, spouse, children. Divorce and drug rates are cited as examples of families falling apart. The East believes that the individual needs to sacrifice individual craving at the alter of the family or the community's needs. Thus there is a gulf between the perceived roles of individuals in the West and the East. Then there is a threat to the concept of identity. Scholars have written that we are not only moving into a new millennium but into a new age. An age where individuals will be freed from the straitjacket of the nation state itself, where individuals will be able to access hospitals, schools, contacts and contracts through the computer. The

global citizen is emerging from the chrysalis. This is change in a big way. And change is always resisted by the status quo.

Therefore the Western dominance in international media threatens the age-old traditions, identities and values in the Muslim world leading to another fault line of suspicion. Does this mean that the civilizations must clash? I believe the tension prints for a clash are there, but that a clash is not inevitable. This is an age of communication. We need better communication between the two worlds. We need, not to dictate, but make concessions. We need to show greater sensibility on both sides and we need most of all to develop a universal morality for a global age where the global citizen will emerge. Leaders on both sides of the two civilizations need to show sensibility.

Let me give you an example. Muslims were horrified at the carnage in Bosnia. Outrage that the West which had acted so swiftly in the Gulf War to secure oil supplies, now watched silently as Muslim blood washed the streets of Sarejevo. As Prime Minister, I considered it my duty to help end the ghastly genocide and to reduce a potential gulf between the West and the East. With Prime Minister Ciller of Turkey, I flew to Bosnia to highlight, as Mothers, our concern for the innocent children of Bosnia. I took up the issue with European and American leaders. I found them receptive particularly President Clinton, Chirac and Republican leader Bob Dole to my contention that delay in a cease-fire would lead to a backlash in Muslim countries. Our efforts paid off in the form of the Dayton Accord. When I met President Chirac upon his election, he mentioned Bosnia to me, and what I had said to him earlier. Europe and America alerted by a Muslim leader showed the sensibility required to act.

Similarly in the case of the genocide in Jammu & Kashmir, my government highlighted the issue. And we were successful. President Clinton's Deputy National Security Advisor told me that when re-elected, President Clinton would focus more intently on South Asia. And that is what is happening now. Sensibility, communication, compromise are the key to building an understanding between the West and Islam. Many Muslims are perturbed about the manner in which Prime Minister Mahathir has been portrayed in the Western dominated media. There is a perception, whether true or false is irrelevant, that the West is out to get Mahathir. It is no secret that many in the West viewed with dismay the rising deficit in Malaysia and the grandiose projects being undertaken by the government there.

However the Muslim perception is not that the Western investors withdrew funds from Malaysia because of an economy going off track. The perception is that Mahathir led the ASEAN fight to include Burma on its economic frequency despite Western warning. And for that he had to be punished. So the signal went

out for the Western investors to withdraw funds, send the Malaysian currency into a tailspin and rock the Malaysian economy. I could see the Malaysian storm breaking and had I been Prime Minister I would have tried for Pakistan to promote a greater understanding between the agenda of the West and the agenda of the East. I give this example to illustrate once again that sensibility, communication and a spirit of compromise are necessary to promote a better understanding between Islam and the West in an age of transition, in an age of transfer of resources and in the Information age.

No doubt the West fears that a growing Muslim world will begin to flex its muscles in two to three decades. But attempts by the West to tame the Muslims through the tools of deregulation and free market vulnerabilities will surely backfire. Rapping the knuckles of leaders that do not fall into line will widen the gulf of understanding. Building bridges of understanding will lead to peace, harmony and stability. One billion Muslims stand at the crossroads today. One road leads to intolerance. Another leads to accommodation. There are voices of madness on both sides. There are those who say Muslims are barbarians who lock up their women. There are others who say the West is decadent, obscene and vulgar. In every society there is an extreme. Men and women of reason in the Information age need to tread the path of moderation for global understanding.

And I come to Cyprus to say that we in the West and in the Islamic World have a choice to make: For we are about to cross, together, into a new century, and into a new millennium. Whether we cross the millennium with acceptance, or fear, is very much in our control. For Islam and for the West, the forces of change, the thrust of modernity and technology, the strength of tolerance, the inevitability of freedom and liberty, and the sanctity of human rights, are all converging on this time -- on our generation -- providing an extraordinary opportunity to move the world.

In just 791 days from today, the calendar will mark the new millennium. We will have to determine whether this is just a change in date, or a change in attitude, in spirit, in hope. Let us determine to make that choice with reason and pragmatism in the light of an alliance that has ended with the cold war but left behind the embers of a warm understanding upon which much can yet be built.

Thanking you ladies and gentlemen.

Fall Tour of the United States

Dowmel Foundation Salem State College Pitney, Hardin, Kipp & Szuch

November 11, 1997

Honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen.

I am no stranger to America. As many of you may know, I spent four of the happiest years of my life as a student at Harvard College. Those days now seem like a dream.

The last year has been an extraordinarily difficult period of time for me, for my family, for my party and for my country.

I am well aware that you have been exposed to information -- or should I say disinformation.

I know that you have heard a negative barrage attacking me and the record of my two administrations as the Chief Executive of my country.

That is why I am here. I still have strength, I still have fight, especially when it comes to the truth. I fully intend to defend myself and my record from this outrageous and sexist character assassination that is being conducted against me.

For what has happened to me, what is happening in Pakistan, may not in fact be unique, but part of a growing and disturbing trend as the world approaches the new millennium.

The attacks against me are painful and they are outright lies. But it is only a more extreme version of what seems to be a universal deterioration of civil dialogue in politics, not just in Pakistan, but all over our world.

The search for political consensus, the main characteristic of a democratic society, has degenerated into partisan hysteria, a rule or ruin philosophy. The breakdown of cooperation threatens the legitimacy of democratic values and norms in the modern, post Cold War international society.

This is a new phenomenon that blemishes the body politic. Consensus, civility and comity have been replaced with pain, slander, prejudice and partisanship.

Let me read you some thoughts that capture what I am trying to say to you today.

"Partisan politics is polluting our most important legal and ethical processes...and is damaging our political system. Proceedings, while billed as impartial, have become little more than 'witch hunts' designed to humiliate the opposing political party...The scandal machine that has developed bankrupts

individuals, who are little more than pawns in larger political agendas. It threatens the ability of the political system to attract the bright, dedicated people that our nation deserves.

It undermines public confidence in government and its leaders."

These are not my words, but they could be.

This is not written about Pakistan, but it might as well be.

What I have quoted to you are the words of Robert Bennett, President Clinton's lawyer, from an essay attacking the subjugation of the legal and ethical process to a blatantly partisan political agenda.

Right now, across the oceans in Asia, the Pakistan Peoples Party, which I lead, is being subjected to a political witch hunt clouded in a so called legal process.

The people of Pakistan honoured me, electing me as their Prime Minister in the only two fair, free and impartial elections held in the last ten years.

But my political opponents saw to it that both governments were removed by presidential edict and not permitted to complete their full terms.

Not a single member of my family has been spared. My father-in-law, husband and brother-in-law have all been arrested. My mother and sister-in-law are facing legal proceedings. Another sister-in-law had her house raided at midnight without a search warrant.

Another relative fled the country when he was grabbed by the shirt at the Prime Minister's house and threatened, "you either do what we want, or end up in a death cell."

And one of our defense counselors was kidnapped by the regime for over two months, without a word of his whereabouts.

Members of the Pakistan Peoples Party and my political staff, including women, have faced similar treatment. I therefore wrote to the U.N. Secretary General highlighting the human rights abuses.

That was when the regime decided to raid my sister-in-law's house at midnight, to harass her and me.

That was when they decided to arrest a second defense counsel charging him with the kidnapping of the first. That was when they filed yet another murder case against my husband.

That was when they falsely claimed that eight companies belonging to me were frozen by the Swiss authorities. I had nothing to do with those companies. But to humiliate and degrade me internationally, the regime claimed they were mine.

The amount of mud that has been thrown has been painful and hurtful. That my name is well known makes the hurtful allegations front-line news all across the world.

I know that truth and justice will eventually triumph. I know that I have the will to prove, not only for myself, but for women all over, that we have the strength to stand up and defend our convictions.

But in the meantime our family life has been affected. My young children miss their father. Not only my family, but those of my relatives, political colleagues and supporters, are being bankrupted defending charges in a court of law.

Our time and energy is being depleted in reaction rather than action to fulfill the vindictive lust of a vindictive regime.

However, this politics of confrontation is not limited to Pakistan alone. All over the world, there is a greater interest in the human side of political personalities. Human fragility enthralls us.

Human fragility and the interest in the person, rather than the politician, also makes it easier to hurl charges, which will transfix friend and foe together, and leave the truth to another day in a small corner of some paper as one scandal replaces another to transfix public opinion.

This new politics of distortion and destabilization has paralyzed constructive dialogue. It has confused the public. It has led to cynicism about public leaders.

It has frozen the search for consensus solutions to the still enormous problems faced by governments all over the world. In time, in talent, and in tenor, democracy has paid a terrible price.

The new dissensus has choked creativity, experimentation and innovation. It has been a polarizing, divisive force especially dangerous in vast regions of the world where democracy is still new and fragile.

And it is a trend that is intensifying, not diminishing.

In the United States, even a discussion of the ratification of a ban on chemical weapons takes on the character of a street gang rumble.

Congress – both the House and the Senate -- are spending enormous amounts of finite resources, both time and money, on investigations of the Executive, while the President and Congress seem to be making little progress on a national consensus on the fundamental campaign law loopholes which triggered the crisis.

And while both the House and Senate spend millions upon millions of dollars in repetitive and redundant hearings whose aim would seem to be more political than programmatic, no progress at all seems to be made on the entitlement crisis that threatens America's fiscal standing in the world in the new century.

A ruling political party that once thrived on the prerogatives of the special prosecutor during the Reagan era, now denounces exactly the same application to the Clinton era.

Another party, which decried the powers of the special prosecutor in the eighties, demands more and more of such appointments to investigate the opposition in the nineties.

Rule or ruin.

The situation has degenerated so badly in Washington, that it was thought necessary for a "civility retreat" to be recently convened, basically to remind members of the Congress of the United States of America the rules of common courtesy and civil dialogue. This my friends, is in the greatest and oldest democracy on earth!

On the campaign money scandal, those who control congress accuse the President of skirting the law, while legislation that would close the loophole and ban soft money is delayed through filibustering.

The Democrats are denounced by the Republicans for having used soft money issue advocacy ads to skirt the law in 1996, while the Republican Congressional Committee is doing exactly the same thing in a congressional race in Staten Island, New York in 1997.

Political expediency has replaced political idealism. And political expediency has no bounds, no limits and no taste.

This trend is consistent across the continents.

Four Indian Prime Ministers within one calendar year have changed, governments disintegrating not over policy, but over politics, not over program but over power.

Just last month in India's largest state, a riot erupted on the floor in of the assembly -- legislators hitting each other over the heads with furniture, inkwells propelled across the chamber, 14 parliamentarians injured. This in what is often called the largest democracy on Earth!

A peace process in the Middle East is allowed to be frozen and come precipitously close to unraveling, with substance often overshadowed by whispered innuendo. A decade's progress hanging in the balance.

In Bangladesh, the ruling party and the opposition interchanges almost identical strategies of parliamentary boycotts and street disruptions, as power shifts from one party to another.

In Bosnia, leaders pledged to a multiethnic state are defeated by ethno-nationalists, threatening the very existence of the Dayton accords.

In Pakistan, the new government almost collapses as it assaults judicial independence and starts undermining the judiciary itself simply because the judiciary has admitted corruption charges against the Prime Minister filed by my Party.

In Turkey, governments fall. In Italy, governments fall. In the Republics of the former Soviet Union, governments fall. In Africa, three military take-overs this calendar year alone.

All over the world, recriminations, finger-pointing and partisan condemnations are the modus operandi of the new political order. Hardly the quiet pax-Americana that many had predicted.

It is in this context -- the emerging politics of partisan confrontation, nihilism and character assassination -- that I assess events in Pakistan.

I want to tell you what has been happening in Pakistan over the last decade, what we have accomplished in my two terms as Prime Minister, and my thoughts on the broader trends that will shape the third millennium we are about to enter.

In 1977, a freely and fairly elected democratic government, headed by my father Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was toppled in a military coup and a brutal martial law was instituted. Less than two years later my father was murdered. For a decade martial law ruled Pakistan like an iron fist. My party was targeted. Our leaders were murdered, tortured, imprisoned. The lucky ones went into exile.

I myself spent nearly six years in prison or solitary confinement, on the edges of illness and despair. Finally, released by the power of world opinion, I devoted my life to mobilizing the cause of Pakistani democracy around the world, and keeping the flame of hope burning within my battered homeland.

In November of 1988 my party was swept into office and I was sworn in as the first Muslim woman to head a government anywhere in the world. I was 35 years old.

We immediately embarked on an ambitious program of political liberalization, an end to press censorship, legalization of trade unions, a commitment to the long neglected social sector with emphasis on education, health delivery and women's rights, and macroeconomic reform.

We were not vindictive to those who drained our country of our blood, of our character, of our values.

As I said at the time, "democracy is the best revenge."

But after just 20 months, the entrenched Establishment that had supported the dictatorship, that had refused to bow to the people's will, toppled my government, acting under the cover and distraction of Saddam's invasion of Kuwait.

The allegation, as they always are in Pakistan and in South Asia, was governmental corruption.

Six cases were brought against me, even more against my husband.

But even under a judicial system dominated by the entrenched autocratic Establishment, we were exonerated of all charges.

The allegations against us were a mere illusion, a transparent smoke screen to undermine the movement toward democracy.

For three years we sat in Opposition in the National Assembly, trying to reach consensus with the Pakistan Muslim League on a range of domestic and foreign policy issues confronting our Nation.

As the economy and social structure of Pakistan deteriorated, and human and civil rights were cast aside by a repressive regime, Pakistan edged close to anarchy.

In elections held in October 1993, my Pakistan People's Party was soundly reelected to a second term.

When we began our second term, we were pitted against a precarious economic scenario. The country was on the verge of bankruptcy.

We moved urgently, made difficult decisions, sometimes unpopular decisions, to restore solvency and create a macroeconomic framework that would allow Pakistan to compete in the world and attract foreign investment to help jump-start our moribund economy.

Increasing tax collection, imposing new taxes on critical segments of our economy, including the politically potent agricultural feudal landowners, was good policy. But it was not very good politics.

As in Eastern and Central Europe, the bitter pills necessary to put the economy on sound footing called for by the World Bank and IMF caused real pain to the people of my country.

Despite the political costs incurred, our restoration of macroeconomic stability was an outstanding achievement by any yardstick. It was the impetus for insuring the confidence of businessmen and women throughout the world in the economic potential of Pakistan.

As a measure of the success of our program, foreign investment in Pakistan during my second tenure as Prime Minister was more than \$25 billion in three years, over \$10 billion from the United States alone.

This represents, ladies and gentlemen, over five times the aggregate foreign investment in Pakistan in the previous 25 years of our Nation's history. That is a record for which I am extremely proud.

During my visit to Washington, the President of the EXIM Bank expressed his pleasure at our policies.

The losing firm in a privatization project wrote praising the transparency of our privatization process. We paid off \$1 billion of our debt and reduced it to 40% of GDP.

We determined as one of our highest priorities that we had to rebuild the infrastructure of our nation if we were to become an economic leader of our region and of the world in the new century.

In providing a big-push to infrastructure development, our primary target was the energy sector.

The World Bank called our energy infrastructure program a model to the entire developing world.

We were so successful in our power program that after two years in government, we shifted our resources from power generation to power delivery -- building pipelines, power lines, transportation and communications infrastructure, ports and support facilities.

And we brought our energy revolution directly to the people of Pakistan by electrifying over 21,000 villages in our rural areas.

By the end of this decade, if our program is fully implemented, every village in Pakistan will be electrified, an outstanding achievement for a vast developing country.

Our government built ten thousand kilometers of roads over the past three years.

We built 100,000 houses per year for the needy and deserving. Additionally, our government distributed more than 500,000 plots of land in rural areas, and 1.22 million plots in urban areas.

We provided proper sewage facilities to 95% of our urban population and seventy percent of our rural population.

And it is the social sector that our accomplishments have the most special meaning to me.

I wanted a new education system for Pakistan, an education system for the new technology and the new century.

We constructed over 30,400 new primary and secondary schools, and renovated an additional 9,800 existing ones.

Approximately seventy percent of the schools we built were for girls.

We recruited approximately 53,000 teachers, of whom 35,000 were women.

We started a computer literacy programme to bring our people into the computer age.

We introduced the internet and e-mail to Pakistan.

As a woman and mother, I was particularly concerned about the conditions of health for the children of Pakistan.

Approximately 50 million child deaths are predicted in South Asia over the next decade.

Of that astounding number, 30 million are avoidable if the countries of the region embark on serious health education and health delivery programs. In order to promote mother and child health care, primary health care and nutrition, 50,000 village health and family planning workers were trained to provide services specifically geared to the needs of women and children.

Included in their responsibilities was providing family planning information and material to deal with Pakistan's population growth. Our work in family planning alone was responsible for a dramatic drop in Pakistani fertility rates during my tenure as Prime Minister. The Vice President of the United States said my speech to the U.N. Conference in Cairo was the catalyst for the world community finally coming together on family planning issues.

Further in the child health area, my government embarked an ambitious and comprehensive effort to immunize the children of Pakistan from a host of childhood diseases that have been brought under control in other parts of the world.

I wondered, "how many potential Nobel prize winners will be among the 30 million avoidable deaths?"

How many great authors will never live to write their novels and poetry? How many prospective great scientists, women and men who might go on to cure AIDS, to conquer cancer, to prevent strokes, will be among the thirty million children who could very well die if we do not act now?"

My government increased health expenditures by 60%. The World Health Organization gave me a gold medal (the only Pakistani leader to receive one) in recognition of my government's services in health.

In order to reduce population growth and infant mortality growth rates, 43,000 health workers were recruited and trained. As a result, population growth rate came down from 3.1% to 2.9% and was targeted to go down to 2.6%.

When I became Prime Minister in 1993, one in five children born with polio in the world was in Pakistan. We were determined to end this dreadful statistic and launched our anti-polio campaign.

My own one year old daughter was at the heart of the campaign as I fed her and other children polio drops twice yearly to launch the campaign. The campaign was assisted yearly by 100,000 volunteers, and by the year 1998, we will have eliminated polio from Pakistan forever.

Intensely concerned about the problem of child labour in certain areas of our economy, most notably in the production of carpets and soccer balls, we cracked down on child labour.

Despite the fact that children in the work force is a deeply personal family issue in Pakistan -- sometimes compared to the practice of children working on farms during harvest in the fall is in the American Midwest -- we did not hesitate to act and my government cracked down on child labor.

We made education compulsory, knowing that if children are in schools, they cannot be in factories.

We ordered local authorities to raid businesses employing children.

Over 7000 such raids we conducted between January 1995 and March 1996 alone.

Over 2,500 employers were prosecuted and many convicted, fined and imprisoned for violating child labor laws.

To protect women in society, we established special women's police forces and women's courts, to hear with understanding and sympathy cases of domestic violence and domestic abuse. Courts and police forces for women staffed by women only.

Our television ran a government sponsored program against domestic violence, and we took the step of signing the CEDAW, the Convention for the elimination of discrimination against women.

We established women's banks designed to help women start small businesses.

All through this intense period of macroeconomic reform, privatisation, infrastructure renewal, and an enormous commitment to the education, health and labour social sectors of Pakistan, I was guided by the philosophy and the words of an American President -- Abraham Lincoln -- who said 100 years before I was born:

"The legitimate object of government, is to do for a community of people, whatever they need to have done, but cannot do, at all or cannot do so well, for themselves -- in their separate and individual capacities.
In all that the people can do for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

Through creative government and the involvement of the international business community, we were able to establish in Pakistan a modern infrastructure with high technology communications and information systems.

Our government instituted Pakistan's first system of fax transmission. We brought CNN to our people's homes. We initiated fiber optic telephones and cell phones. And when you went on-line, we went on-line with you, making the remarkable information revolution in reach of every Pakistani schoolchild and businessman and woman.

It was a miraculous transformation of a society, a transformation that cannot be negated by disinformation and personal attacks on me. What we accomplished - - concretely and specifically -- is my legacy to the people of Pakistan.

We opened up education, and we opened up markets

We opened up opportunity and we opened up foreign investment. We opened economic development and opened up our rural villages. Above all, we opened minds. We opened up individual choice.

Although the forces of the past once again conspired to bring down our elected government two years before our term was complete, history will be the final judge.

Already, the camouflage of corruption used against my government on November 5th, 1996, while the world was once again distracted -- this time by the American presidential election -- has been exposed.

Not one case of corruption has been filed against my family or myself in the year since the President ordered the military to surround the Prime Minister's House and ordered them to arrest and my family and associates.

Not a single case to substantiate their unilateral assault on democracy.

My husband is held prisoner, a hostage to my political career.

People clearly involved in a conspiracy to kill my brother Murtaza have the audacity to accuse my husband of this heinous crime.

If my brother's death is not horrible enough, I have to endure his murderers trying to frame my husband.

The current regime in Pakistan blatantly violates the law, openly attacks the Supreme Court, refuses to allow dissidents to speak openly and freely, and beats, tortures, and imprisons its opponents.

The goal of the regime is quite obvious -- to establish a one-party dictatorship in Pakistan. They stand perilously close. Only I and others in the opposition stand in their way. If the goals of those in power, those who supported military dictatorship in the past, is to keep my party out of politics, to keep us from speaking out on issues that we care strongly about, no amount of intimidation or coercion can shake our commitment to democracy and to our country. My husband shares my decision.

The new fascist regime has already banned popular music on television in Pakistan, calling it decadent. It has made it compulsory for all girl students in the Punjab to wear the veil. And there is more.

Under the new fascist regime in Pakistan, two judges have already been murdered; two parliamentary candidates, former members of the National Assembly, have been brutally killed in the streets.

In the past we had land grabbing. Now, we have commercial and industrial grabbing. The regime targets industries, concocts cases, and then blackmails the owners into selling the businesses to its cronies. The case of Shon Bank is but one example – the pressure on the Ansari Sugar Mills another.

And while the regime concentrates on political vendetta, the country heads toward economic collapse.

Since I left office, the growth rate has halved, the deficit has risen by 40%, debt has increased by 16.6%, inflation has risen to 13%, and the rupee has been shrinking in value.

Nearly 70,000 people have lost their jobs. In just six months, in just one province, 86 people committed suicide because of hunger and lack of employment. Tragically, one mother killed herself and two of her children because she could not feed them.

The situation is worsening every minute.

I have not lived through what I have lived through -- my father's murder, my two brothers' murders, the years in prison, the sacking of our two democratic governments -- to be intimidated into silence. We did not come this far to be silent. We did not come to this far to fail.

And that is why, despite the persecution, I am determined not to let down those who believe in a democratic, modern, moderate, Muslim State.

Ladies and gentlemen, our generation stands at the door way of history. Not only the door way of a new century, but the doorway of a new millennium.

And as we prepare ourselves to meet this century, this new millennium, I believe we need to clearly understand the challenges that still await us and await the century.

I believe there are four simultaneous challenges the world faces today.

First, the rise of ethnic and religious hatred, prejudice and intolerance.

Second, the gulf of wealth and health emerging between the developed and developing world.

Third, the growing sense of ennui and alienation by the people, in a complex and fast moving world, in the ability of governments to resolve the multi-faceted problems the new technological era faces.

And fourth, the continuing gender inequity in all societies, west as well as east, that creates social division in the society as we move into the new century and third millennium.

The only good thing I can say for the forty years of the Cold War is that its bipolar competition managed to suppress the ethnic and religious antagonisms that dominated the first half of this century.

The simplistic dichotomy between the West and East blocs compartmentalized and clarified the world order.

But this also had negative consequences.

During the superpower confrontation, containing communism was paramount – even at the cost of democracy. Countries like Pakistan saw long periods of dictatorship. Decades when freedom was suppressed, the press censored and billions of dollars in military and economic assistance siphoned.

Similar patterns existed in South and Central America, in Portugal and Spain, in Greece, in South Korea, and in large parts of the African continent.

The dawn of the new Information Age helped change the destiny of nations caught in the grip of dictatorship, in the grip of authoritarianism.

CNN, the first jewel in the crown of the Information Age, had a significant role to play in bringing about the end of communism. People in Eastern and Central Europe saw the beauty of freedom, the consumer choices that were available all over the world, and they asked a simple question: "why not here?"

People in South Asia and South America saw free people making free choices not only in elections, but in professional and career choices, and they asked a simple question: "why not here?" With the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, many in the world believed that our forty five year thermonuclear nightmare was over, and a peace dividend could spread across the world. But as T.S. Eliot once observed, "between the idea and the reality, falls the shadow."

The twilight of the century has become Eliot's shadow. The idea, that Platonic cave of peace that we prayed for, has eluded us.

Its elusion has left people impatient, frustrated, angry.

Those who believed democracy meant automatic financial progress, a better standard of living, have lost faith in governmental systems. Ladies and gentlemen, the frustration of newly empowered electorates combined with the regeneration of long suppressed ethnic and religious tensions, creates a dangerous situation for the world as we approach the new millennium.

The United States, in it's extraordinary moment of international predominance, has an obligation to act as a catalyst to promote democratic values, to insure self-determination, to enforce United Nations Resolutions, and to defuse potential international conflicts before they might engulf the world.

One of these long simmering tensions is related to the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir. The valley of Kashmir has been occupied by India and denied the basic right of self-determination. Tens of thousands of men, women and children have lost their lives in the quest for freedom.

It is time now, consistent with President Clinton's stated policy of preemptive crisis management, to facilitate an agreement between India and Pakistan so that the people of Kashmir and Jammu are finally allowed to determine their own political futures.

And, ladies and gentlemen, this is an era with increasing focus on Islam and the West. The entire world community, and specifically the United States, has a fundamental strategic interest in events in the Muslim World. All across the world, in the Middle East, in Southwest Asia, in Southeast Asia, in Africa, one billion Muslims are at the cross-roads.

They must choose between progressivism and extremism.

They must choose between education and ignorance.

They must choose between the force of the new technologies and the forces of the old repression.

Thus, one billion Muslims must choose between past and future.

The United States must do everything within its power to insure that progressive, pluralistic Muslim countries like Pakistan are in a position to serve as models to the entire Islamic world.

And Pakistan is also an important Asian country, at the crossroads to the strategic oil reserves of the Gulf and Central Asia, and to the markets of South and East Asia.

In terms of demographics, in terms of production, in terms of consumption, in terms of markets, in terms of an expanding capitol intensive middle class, the Asian continent will set the tone, set the pace, and dominate the economic and geopolitical exigencies of the coming era.

It is up to us -- all of us -- to determine the moral parameters of that new era -- the coming decade, the coming century, the coming millennium.

Ladies and gentlemen,

In less than 700 days, we will witness only for the third time in recorded history the momentous turning of the millennium.

Where and what will we be, at that extraordinary moment, when the huge ball drops and the year 2000 lights up the winter sky?

Will we be prisoners of the mind-set of the past, or will we be liberated to the endless possibilities of an historic future?

Our generation, the first in recorded history, is fundamentally empowered with the control of its own destiny.

The chains of the past -- colonialism, ignorance, dictatorship and sexism -- are broken.

The world has finally accepted, in the words of Robert Browning, that "ignorance is not innocence, but sin."

I see a Third Millennium where the gap between rich and poor states evaporates, where illiteracy and hunger and malnutrition are conquered.

I see a Third Millennium where human rights are universal, and self-determination unabridged anywhere on the planet. I see a Third Millennium where civil dialogue is restored, where consensus and comity once again guide the national and international debate.

I see a Third Millennium where people's trust in government is restored, and government gets on with the business of addressing the pressing needs of the people.

I see a Third Millennium where every child is planned, wanted, nurture and supported.

I see a Third Millennium of tolerance and pluralism, where religions respect other religions.

I see a Third Millennium where the birth a girl child is welcomed with the same joy as the birth of a boy.

This is the Third Millennium I see for my country -- and for yours. For my children, and for yours.

If we fail, we will have only ourselves to blame.

For the crutches of history are gone. We walk on our own.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

International Leadership Day

Benazir Bhutto, Former Prime Minister of Pakistan

Goteborg, Sweden - 25 November 1997

Honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen.

I wish to thank you for your kind invitation to speak before you today in Goteborg, and for your extraordinarily warm welcome. Sweden is a country with great significance to me. I was only the Second Prime Minister of Pakistan ever to visit your country. The first was my father, the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who came here in 1976. Thankfully, our two nations have enjoyed extremely close and friendly relations for almost a half century. We in Pakistan will never forget that Sweden was the first Scandinavian country to recognize and establish diplomatic relations with Pakistan in 1949. I should also note that a significant number of Pakistanis have chosen Sweden as their second home. Seeing the beauty of Goteborg and the countryside surrounding it, and feeling the unique warmth and openness of your people, I can fully appreciate this choice.

Ladies and gentlemen, as many of you know, I am a daughter of the East who was educated and spent significant parts of my life in the West. In a sense, I am a bridge of two cultures, two worlds, two pasts.

As a child I attended a private school in Karachi, run by Catholic nuns, sheltered from much of the turmoil of early Pakistan, a shy and insulated girl. When I was but sixteen years old, my father determined I should not be denied the Islamic right of knowledge, and thus he sent me abroad for higher education, and I was admitted into America's premier university, Harvard College.

All my life, and even spiritually to this day, it was my father who guided me, who mentored me, who encouraged me, who gave me the strength and confidence to express my views. His soul and his values are alive within me, wherever I go.

It is interesting that the person who insured that I would break lose of the constrains of my culture and gender, was not a woman, but a man. A very great

and a very wise man. The man who was and is the greatest role model in my life -- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

My travel to America when I was 16 was a true awakening. I walked into a very new world. I was alone for the first time in my life. The pampered child was suddenly cooking, cleaning, washing and ironing -- independent and self-sufficient. I was exposed to the most brilliant and respected professors, to the most compelling ideas, to a demanding curriculum, to the most accomplished students in all of North America.

I was for the first time in my life living together with strangers, in a dormitory of peers, where I had to take care of myself but also participate in an intellectual village. It was the first time in my life that I was in an environment where women were treated as full participants in society in every way. I was also thrust into a political environment that was unlike anything I had ever known. I came to Harvard in 1969, at the heart of the Vietnam War, with our campus, and all of America, in political and social turmoil. In time, I, like many of my classmates, took to the streets, took to the barricades, demanding an end to an unjust war. And while I was in America for those four years, I participated and observed in a miracle of democracy -- I saw the power of the people changing policies, changing leaders, and changing history.

It was that early experience, possibly more than anything else, that shaped my political being, that unalterably shaped my faith in democracy. From Harvard I spent almost four years in Oxford, where I became the first foreign woman to be elected as President of the Oxford Union. It was my first election, my first victory.

I had been told that as a foreigner, I could not win and should not run. I had been told that as a woman, I could not win, and should not run. I knew I could win, and I did.

Thus, I learned a valuable lesson: never acquiesce to obstacles, especially those that are constructed of bigotry, intolerance and blind, inflexible tradition. I also learned another critical lesson in life -- to follow my own political instincts. I returned to Pakistan in 1977, hoping to pursue a career in the Foreign Service. I also had hoped I might become an editor. But circumstances would soon unfold that would dictate the path of the rest of my life and change the direction of the future of my country.

Within one week of my return from Oxford, a military coup toppled the elected democratic government of my father. Our house was surrounded by tanks. We did not know if we would live or die, if we would survive to see the dawn of the

next day's sun. A brutal, criminal dictator had overturned a free and fair election, imposed martial law, and suspended all constitutional rights within my country. My father was arrested, released, re-arrested and finally hanged.

My party was targeted. Our leaders were murdered, tortured, imprisoned. The lucky ones went into exile. A political vacuum was created with the imprisonment of my Father and his colleagues. In this vacuum, I saw many members turn towards me to lead rallies, tour the country and seek a restoration of democracy.

I did not seek leadership, it was thrust upon me. Tragedy, political circumstances, and the forces of history rallied a nation around me. I was fortunate in my campaign to lead my nation, as my name was recognized throughout the country -- and the same people who supported my Father's vision of a modern Islamic democracy rallied around me to continue the struggle.

I was fortunate in that a political party with roots in all four federating units of the country presented me with a national platform from which to launch not only the struggle for democracy but my own political career. I also was fortunate that my father had provided me with a strong education, and the means to be economically independent. This allowed me the time and resources to strengthen our political base.

Exposure to modern, liberal ideas and a liberal education in some of the best schools in the world certainly helped me in preparing to play the leader's role. But it was the real, practical education which I received from my father, who took great interest in my upbringing and initiating me in debates on major contemporary issues, which prepared me most.

When I reflect on the road I have traveled, I recall my early aspirations to become an editor, and as mentioned, my interest in the Foreign Service -- my intentions were never to become involved in politics. However, now I realize I had no control over the events which would quickly change my fate, and my course was no longer mine. I was catapulted into politics by the force of circumstance. When my father was executed, and the Party rudderless, I was called upon by the Party and the people to take charge and pursue the mission of my father for freedom and constitutional rule. The Pakistan Peoples Party provided me, a woman, the opportunity to lead the nation because the PPP had an enlightened, liberal message, proclaiming the equality of men and women.

This was not an easy task at a time when the military dictatorship insisted that a woman's place was behind the house and behind the veil. And not in the work

place. However the different approach between our opponents and supporters on the role of women in a Muslim Society helped one in enlarging and co-opting a liberal constituency in a Muslim country where tradition and tribal customs had played a pre dominant role.

Many believe that South Asian women leaders have inherited leadership through assassination of loved ones in the family. The other part is that each of us had to win our badges of honors by paying a political price.

I paid that political price, spending nearly six years in one form of imprisonment or another, mostly in solitary confinement, in an all pervasive climate of fear and dread. Senior members of the party could not reconcile themselves to being led by "a chit of a woman" to use their phrase. Bruising battles for leadership continued with the youth and second tier of the leadership supporting me over the senior leaders.

The downside of a politics born of struggle was the inadequate exposure I, or my young supporters had, to the members and working of the elite and influential groups in the countries social and economic and administrative structure. Due to the dread of the mixing with the opposition, members of the business community, bureaucracy military and judiciary kept clear of me.

I had little experience of government, having not worked myself up the ladder as a democratic system allows. And this would remain a vulnerability when the party achieved power. However, I gained much experience in organizational and managerial matters in running the PPP, the nation's largest and most popular party, against all obstacles.

However, I found that it was not easy for the elite groups to accept the woman as a leader, particularly one which, perforce to circumstances, they did not know my youth, went against me too. I remember, when I was elected my supporters were jubilant but not my opponents.

A leading religious scholar from a leading Muslim country issued an edict declaring that it was un-Islamic for a woman to become chief executive of a country. Members of the religious parties and conservative minded segments of the public embarked on a mission create a religious frenzy against the newly elected government.

Pamphlets were distributed claiming it was the religious duty of the country to assassinate me as I was a woman who had usurped a man's place in an Islamic society. Several assassination attempts were made including one within the first month of my election at the Lahore airport. A group of scholars within the organization of Muslim countries embarked on an agenda of having Pakistan

thrown out of the OIC because it had violated Islamic tradition by voting for a woman. Luckily I learnt of this plan and pre-empted it.

The removal of the government was branded a religious mission. Every Friday, from the mosques, sermons were given inciting the people to overthrow the government. However, having a popular base meant having the popular support. We proved in Pakistan that the barriers of tradition could be broken. We proved in Pakistan that a woman could be elected chief executive in a Muslim country. It was a victory for women every where especially Muslim women.

And although my opponents fulminated, calling me an Indian agent and Israeli agent, the people supported me. In November of 1988 my party was swept into office and I was sworn in as the first Muslim woman to head a government anywhere in the world. I was 35 years old. We immediately embarked on an ambitious program of political liberalization, an end to press censorship, legalization of trade unions, a commitment to the long neglected social sector with emphasis on education, health delivery and women's rights, and macroeconomic reform.

Despite the peoples support, after just 20 months, the entrenched Establishment that had supported the dictatorship, that had refused to bow to the people's will, toppled my government, acting under the cover and distraction of Saddam's invasion of Kuwait. However, the new government brought in by the security apparatus of the country fail to give Pakistan stability. It launched bitter battle of persecution against its political opponents. The result was that anarchy and chaos gripped the Nation. Pakistan was on the threshold of being declared a terrorist state and our economy was on the verge of collapse. My party did not lose its faith in one nor did I lose my faith in politics or the people of my country. Within the three years I was re-elected a Prime Minister of Pakistan.

In reflection, I realized that being a leader in a large developing country that had been stifled by the forces of dictatorship was difficult in itself. But being a woman made the task even more formidable. I faced greater challenges than I could have ever imagined. It is not easy being a woman in Pakistan, and in many ways in Sweden. Still more difficult is being a woman politician, a woman parliamentarian, in our two countries. Moreover, for women leaders, the obstacles are greater, the demands are greater, the barriers are greater, and the double standards are greater.

And ultimately, the expectations of those who look at us as role models are greater as well. For all women, it is critical that we succeed. Unfortunately, there are still many men who would just as soon have us fail, to reinforce their myopic stereotypes restricting the role of women.

I recall with great empathy the words of Lady Margaret Thatcher, who once said: "If a woman is tough, she is pushy. If a man is tough, gosh, he's a great leader."

How often in Pakistan, Sweden, all over the world, we have heard characterizations of women in politics as pushy, as aggressive, as cunning, as shrewd, as strident. These words, if applied to men in politics, would be badges of honour! Those of us who have chosen to serve in business, government and other professional careers have broken new ground.

We have broken glass ceilings, we have broken the stereotypes, and we have been and continue to be prepared to go the extra mile, to be judged by unrealistic standards, to be held more accountable. Therefore, women leaders have to outperform, outdistance and out manage men at every level.

We should not shrink from this responsibility, we should welcome it. Welcome it on behalf of women all over the world, in cities and rural villages, in the great universities and those still struggling under the miasma of illiteracy. For all who have suffered before, and for all who come after us, we are privileged to be in this special position, in this special time, with unique opportunities to change our countries, our continents, to change the world and inevitably change the future.

I have not found that there are any male leaders who will agree there are differences in styles between male and female leaders. But we female leaders, and I speak from my conversations with other women leaders, believe that female leaders are stronger and more determined. I personally believe that women leaders are more generous and more forgiving. Male leaders tend to be more inflexible, and more rigid. However, ironically, I have met many male leaders who feel that women leaders are actually more rigid.

Male leaders can learn from female counterparts how to keep people together. Women leaders have a tradition and an historical legacy of bringing up families and creating a sense of family community and unity.

Women have a greater natural and inherent strength in keeping a team united and this is what men leaders need to from women leaders. I asked a male leader what we female leaders could learn from them and he replied in a simple word "intrigues". Men know how to intrigue and women are not so good at intrigues.

Just as men and women can learn from one another, so can leaders from different cultures, regions and religions. We in East, feel that there are greater complexities in the politics of the East than there are politics of the West. The leaders in the West can therefore learn from the leaders in the East how to deal

with more unstructured and complex social, economic and political realities. In leading people from different cultures, a leader has to keep in view and have a sensitivity toward the values of different cultural groups and make sure that the different cultural groups feel that their cultural values and mores remain intact.

A leader must also strengthen the common points to bind the different cultures together. He or she must make pluralistic diversity into a mosaic that is strengthened, not weakened, by differences amongst our people. In the West, people often take free choice, free speech, and human rights for granted, as a matter of right. In the East, the leaders have not only had to battle the different political parties, but also resist the entrenched establishment.

Since many countries in the East have had long experiences of military dictatorships, their security apparatus is strong and often resists change. Civil/military relations is something that the East and West can learn from each other. I have been asked what political leaders from the West can learn from the East? The west needs to appreciate that the East, and I speak of the Muslim Nations in the East, or part of the same Judaic, Christian Civilization.

Ours is a religion that sanctifies Abraham, Moses and Jesus as Prophets. When the Jews were being persecuted all over Europe, it is within the Islamic societies that they sought sanctuary...and they were welcomed as brothers and sisters, to live free and prosperous. This is the history of Islam. This is the reality of Islam.

Secondly, I would ask leaders in the West, not to think of the people of the East as terrorists or fanatics. No doubt there are extremists in each society in each country. However, it is the misfortune of Information Age that while we think we have more information for each other in fact we have less. The reason we have less knowledge is that the Information Age broadcast the extreme rather than the mainstream.

The mainstream in the East is very much the mainstream in the West if not more so. The mainstream in the East is grounded in faith, in family, in our dreams for the future. I have attempted, throughout my career, to combine the best of many cultures, the richness of disparate experiences, to build for my people the ability to compete and thrive in the challenging new technological era. Introducing the world of modern communication into Pakistan was one of the goals of my party.

We heralded the information revolution by introducing fax machines, digital pagers, optic fiber, cellular telephones, satellite dishes, internet, the e-mail and even CNN into Pakistan. As a political activist I noted with deep interest the politics of de-regulation introduced by Western Leaders, primarily management in Europe. And I took these lessons from the West to the East. Pakistan became

one of the first countries to embark on de-regulation. We introduced the concept of privatization in our manifesto of 1988 and piloted the bill for privatization through the Parliament. We broke the dominance of public sector units and gave an impetus to the private sector. Within a decade Pakistan has been transformed. Today we have a burgeoning private sector and entrepreneurs that consist of both men and women. I was proud of Pakistan when under my leadership of de-regulation, Pakistan integrated into the global economy and became one of the ten emerging capital markets of the world.

In modernizing our economy we learnt much from the West: introducing private sector financial institutions, computerizing the stock market and in Central Revenues Department, making the State Bank autonomous and reforming the Corporate Law Authority.

Talking of the qualities of a leader which he/she must possess I think a leader should have the qualities of always talking the truth and to live by a moral value system. Indeed these are the qualities I would like my children to inculcate. I once had a fight with one of my political colleagues when he said there were not ten but eleven commandments. I asked what was the eleventh commandment. "Well", he said, "the ten commandments are thou shall not do all these things and the eleventh is thou shall do all these things unless caught". I said that may be a very male view but that was not a woman's world view and we had a big argument. A leader must also have this additional quality of remaining in touch with people. To feel for them and with them. That is an essential quality a leader. On Role Model For any Muslim the greatest role model from which to seek guidance is the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him). Although it is difficult to identify a single role model from which I seek political guidance, my father late Zulfkar Ali Bhutto has always inspired me. He gave me self-confidence and dignity and I learnt from him how to stand firm in adversity. He was a great man and today I am because of my father and not because of anybody else. I have succeeded because my father lived up to the Islamic tenets and made no discrimination between his sons and daughters. At the tender age of 16 he sent me to the best universities of the world, believing his daughter must not be denied the Islamic right of knowledge. It was my father who inspired me and encouraged me, gave me the strength and confidence to express my views. And he always believed that his daughter would one day be Prime Minister, when such a thing was unheard of in the Muslim world. My greatest support as a leader has come from the people of Pakistan and the political party I lead. I have a great sense of achievement for what my government has been able to accomplish for the women and the downtrodden, for what we have been able to do for the poor and the less fortunate segments of the society like the minorities. Faith in the people and the justness of the cause which we have propounded has been a great support which has sustained us in difficult times.

On the Conference Theme The conference theme "Want to change, dare to lead" means a great deal to me. Whenever asked as to how I wish to be remembered, my answer has been that I wished to be remembered as a person who made a difference – – and a difference for the better. Wanting to change the lives of our people has been my dream, my passion. I am happy to recall that at least in one area namely the life of women in Pakistan, I have been able to bring about a meaningful and positive change. The conference them "Want to change, dare to lead" is therefore close to my heart and my own thinking.

Ladies and gentlemen, our generation stands at the door way of history. Not only the door way of a new century, but the doorway of a new millennium. And as we prepare ourselves to meet this century, this new millennium, I believe we need to clearly understand the challenges that still await us and await the century.

It is up to us, all of us, to determine the moral parameters of that new era -- the coming decade, the coming century, the coming millennium.

Ladies and gentlemen,

In just 766 days, we will witness only for the third time in recorded history the momentous turning of the millennium. Where and what will we be, at that extraordinary moment, when the huge ball drops and the year 2000 lights up the winter sky?

Will we be prisoners of the mind-set of the past, or will we be liberated to the endless possibilities of an historic future? Our generation, the first in recorded history, is fundamentally empowered with the control of its own destiny. The chains of the past -- colonialism, ignorance, dictatorship and sexism -- are broken.

The world has finally accepted, in the words of Robert Browning, that "ignorance is not innocence, but sin."

We must persevere and not be intimidated by fear, not constrained by obstacles. I remember the last words of my father to me, writing to me from his death cell, quoting Robert F. Kennedy on Tennyson:

"Every generation has a central concern, whether to end war, erase racial injustice, or improve the conditions of working people. They demand a government that speaks directly and honestly to its citizens.

The possibilities are too great, the stakes too high, to bequeath to the coming generation only the prophetic lament of Tennyson:

“Ah, what shall I be at fifty...If I find the world so bitter at twenty-five.”

I remember my father’s words. I will not be afraid. I will continue to speak, to fight, to help build a newer world. What will that world be?

Ladies and gentlemen, I see a Third Millennium where the gap between rich and poor states evaporates, where illiteracy and hunger and malnutrition are conquered.

I see a Third Millennium where human rights are universal and self-determination unabridged anywhere on the planet.

I see a Third Millennium where civil dialogue is restored, where consensus and comity once again guide the national and international debate.

I see a Third Millennium where people’s trust in government is restored, and government gets on with the business of addressing the pressing needs of the people.

I see a Third Millennium where every child is planned, wanted, nurture and supported.

I see a Third Millennium of tolerance and pluralism, where religions respect other religions.

I see a Third Millennium where the birth a girl child is welcomed with the same joy as the birth of a boy.

This is the Third Millennium I see for Pakistan, and for Sweden. For my children, and for yours.

If we fail, we will have only ourselves to blame.

For the crutches of history are gone. We walk on our own.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

**Speech To The John F. Kennedy
School Of Government
by Benazir Bhutto
Former Prime Minister of Pakistan**

November 7, 1997 at the John F. Kennedy School of Government

Thank you. Honored guests, ladies and gentlemen. As you know, I am no stranger to America and being here at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, I'd just like you all to know how wonderful it is to come back home. I spent four of the happiest years of my life as a student at Harvard University. And those days now seem like a dream to me.

The last year has been an extraordinarily difficult period of time for me, for my family, for my country. I am well aware that many of you have been exposed to information, or should I say disinformation. I know that you have heard a negative barrage, attacking me and the record of my two administrations as the chief executive of Pakistan. That is why I am here; I still have the strength, I still have the fight-- especially when it comes to the truth. I fully intend to defend myself and my record from this outrageous and sexist character assassination that is being conducted against me.

For what has happened to me, what is happening in Pakistan, may not in fact be unique; but part of a growing and disturbing trend, as the world approaches the new millennium. The attacks against me are painful and they are outright lies. But, it is only a more extreme version of what appears to be a universal deterioration of civil dialogue in politics. Not just in Pakistan, but all over the world. The search for political consensus, the main characteristic of a democratic society, has degenerated into partisan hysteria. A rule or ruin philosophy.

The breakdown of cooperation threatens the legitimacy of democratic values and norms in the modern post-Cold War international society. This is a new phenomena that blemishes the body politic. Consensus, civility and committee have been replaced with slander, prejudice and partisanship.

I would like to read you some thoughts that capture what I am saying to you today. And I quote: "Partisan politics is polluting our most important legal and ethical processes, and is damaging our political system. Proceedings, while billed as impartial, have become little more than witch hunts, designed to humiliate the opposing political party. The scandal that has developed, bankrupts individuals who are little more than pawns in larger political agendas. It threatens the ability of the political system to attract the bright, dedicated people that our nation deserves."

These are not my words; but, they may as well be. This is not written about Pakistan; but, it might as well be. For what I have quoted to you are the words of Robert Bennett, President Clinton's lawyer, from an essay attacking the subjugation of the legal and ethical process to a blatantly partisan political agenda. Right now, across the ocean in Asia, the Pakistan Peoples Party, which I lead, is being subjected to a political witch hunt, clouded in a so-called legal process.

The people of Pakistan honored me by electing me as their Prime Minister in the only two fair, free and impartial elections held in the last ten years. But, my political opponent saw to it that both governments were removed by presidential edict and not permitted to complete their full terms. Not a single member of my family has been spared. My father-in-law, my husband, and my brother-in-law have all been arrested. My mother and my sister-in-law are facing legal proceedings. Another sister-in-law had her house raided at midnight, without a search warrant or a magistrate. Yet another relative fled the country, when he was called to the Prime Minister's house, grabbed by the shirt and threatened: "You either do what we want or end up in a bed cell."

And, one of our defense lawyers was kidnapped by the regime for over two months, without a word of his whereabouts. Members of the Pakistan Peoples Party, and my political staff, including women, have faced similar treatment. I, therefore, wrote to the United Nations Secretary General, highlighting the human rights abuses. I was castigated by the regime for doing so. I was criticized for washing Pakistan's dirty linen in public. They weren't concerned that they were dirtying the linens; they were only concerned that I was washing it in public.

And, that was when the regime decided to raid my sister-in-law's house at midnight, to harass her and to harass me. That was when they decided to arrest a second defense lawyer; charging him with the kidnapping of the first. And, that was when they decided to file yet another murder case against my husband. And, that was when they falsely claimed that eight companies belonging to me had been frozen by the Swiss authorities. I had nothing to do with those companies. But, to humiliate and degrade me internationally, the regime claimed they were mine.

I know that truth and justice will eventually triumph. I know that I have the will to prove, not only for myself but for women all over, that we have the strength to stand up and defend our convictions. But, in the meantime, our family life has been affected. My young children miss their father. Not only my family, but those of my relatives, political colleagues, and supporters are being bankrupted

defending charges in different courts of law. Our time and energy is depleted in reaction, rather than action, to fulfill the vindictive lust of the present regime.

However, this politics of confrontation is not limited to Pakistan, alone. All over the world, we find a greater interest in the human side of political personality. Human frailty enthralls us. This new politics of distortion and destabilization has paralyzed constructive dialogue. It has confused the public. It has led to a great cynicism across the continents about public leaders. And, it is a trend that is intensifying; not diminishing. In the United States, even a discussion of the ratification of a ban on chemical weapons takes on the character of street gang rumble.

And, while both the House and Senate spend millions upon millions of dollars in repetitive and redundant hearings, whose aim would seem to be more political than programmatic, no progress at all seems to be made on the entitlement crisis that threatens America's fiscal standing in the new century.

A ruling party, that once tried on the prerogatives of the special prosecutor during the Reagan era, now denounces exactly the same application to the Clinton era. Another party, which decried the powers of the special prosecutor in the '80s demands more and more of such appointments to investigate the opposition in the '90s. Rule or ruin.

The situation deteriorated so badly in Washington that it was thought necessary for a civility retreat to be convened. Basically to remind the members of the Congress of the United States of America the rules of common courtesy and civil dialogue. This, my friends, is in the greatest and oldest democracy on earth. Political expediency has replaced political idealism. And, political expediency has no bounds, no limits and no taste. This trend, as I said, is consistent across the continents. Four Indian prime ministers have changed within one calendar year. Governments disintegrating, not over policy, but over politics. Not over programs, but over power. Just last month in India's largest state, a riot erupted on the floor of the Assembly. Legislators hitting each other over the heads with furniture; inkwells thrown across the chamber; 14 Parliamentarians injured. This in what is often called the largest democracy on earth.

A peace process in the Middle East is allowed to be frozen, with substance often overshadowed by whispered innuendo. A decade's progress hanging in the balance. In Bangladesh, the ruling party and the opposition interchanges almost identical strategies of Parliamentary boycotts and street disruptions, as power shifts from one party to another. In Bosnia, leaders pledged to a multi-ethnic state are defeated by ethno-nationalists; threatening the very existence of the Dayton Accord.

In Pakistan, the new government elected in March almost collapsed in October when it began to undermine the judiciary, simply because the Supreme Court admitted corruption charges against the Prime Minister filed by my Party. All over the world, what do we find? All over the world, recrimination, finger-pointing and partisan condemnation are the modus operandi of the new political order. Hardly the quiet back Americana that many had predicted. We cannot afford, ladies and gentlemen, to be distracted from the real issues at hand. Building a political consensus for a new political era. I believe that our generation stands at the doorway of history. Not only the doorway of a new century, but the doorway of a new millenium. And, as we prepare ourselves to meet this new century, this new millennium, I believe we need to clearly understand the challenges that still await us and await the new century. I believe there are four simultaneous challenges that the world faces today. First, the rise of ethnic and religious hatred, prejudice and intolerance. Second, the gulf of wealth and health emerging between the developed and developing countries, and within nations themselves. Third, the growing sense of alienation by the people in a complex and fast-moving world and the ability of their governments to resolve the problem that the new technology era faces. And, fourth, the continuing gender inequity in all societies, west as well as east, that creates social division in the society as we move towards a new century.

The only good thing I can say for the forty years of the Cold War, is that it's bi-polar competition managed to suppress the ethnic and religious antagonism that had dominated the first half of the twentieth century. The simplistic dichotomy between the West and the East compartmentalized and clarified the world order. But, this also had negative consequences. During the Super Power confrontations, containing communism was paramount, even at the cost of democracy; even at the cost of human rights. Countries, like Pakistan, saw long periods of dictatorship; decades when freedom was suppressed. The press censored and billions of dollars in military and economic assistance siphoned. Similar patterns existed in South and Central America. In Portugal and Spain. In Greece and South Korea. And, in a large part of the African continent. The dawn of the new information age helped change the destiny of nations caught in the grip of dictatorship. CNN had a significant role, I believe, in bringing about the end of communism. I know many people thought it was just President Reagan; but, I think he got a lot of assistance from CNN. Because people in Eastern and Central Europe saw the beauty of freedom. They saw the consumer choices that were available and they asked a simple question: Why not here? People in South Asia and South America saw free people making free decisions, and making free choices not only in elections but in their careers and their professions. And, they, too, asked a simple question: Why not here?

With the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, many in the world believed that our 45-year thermo-nuclear nightmare was over and a peace dividend could spread across the world. But, as T.S. Eliot once observed, between the idea and the reality falls the shadow. The twilight of the century has become Eliot's shadow. The idea, that platonic ... (inaudible) of peace that we prayed for, has eluded us. Its elusion has left people impatient, frustrated and angry. Those who believe that democracy meant instant financial progress, instant improvement in the standard of living, have lost faith in governmental systems. The frustration of newly-empowered electorates, combined with the regeneration long-suppressed ethnic and religious tensions, creates a very dangerous situation for the world as we approach the new millennium. The United States, in its extraordinary moment of international predominance, has an obligation to act as a catalyst to promote democratic values; to insure self-determination; to enforce United Nations resolutions; and to diffuse potential international conflicts before they engulf the world.

And, one of these long-simmering tensions is related to the dispute over Jamu and Kashmir. The Valley of Kashmir has been occupied by India and denied the basic right of self-determination. Tens of thousands of men, women and children have lost their lives in the quest for freedom. It is time now, consistent with President Clinton's stated policy of preemptive crisis management, to facilitate an agreement between India and Pakistan; so that the people of Kashmir and Jamu are finally allowed to determine their own future.

And, ladies and gentlemen, this is an era where we see an increasing focus on Islam and the West. The entire world community, and specifically the United States, have a fundamental strategic interest in events in the Muslim world. All across the world, in the Middle East, in Southwest Asia and Southeast Asia and Africa, one billion Muslims are at the crossroads. They must choose between progress and extremism. They must choose between education and ignorance. They must choose between the force of new technologies and the forces of old repression. Thus, one billion Muslims must choose between the past and the future.

The United States must do everything within its power to ensure that progressive, pluralistic Muslim countries like Pakistan are in a position to serve as role-models to the entire Islamic world. And, Pakistan is also an important Asian country; at the crossroads to the strategic oil reserves of the Gulf and Central Asia. And, to the markets of South Asia and East Asia. In terms of demographics; in terms of production; in terms of consumption; in terms of markets; in terms of an expanding capital-intensive middle class, the Asian continent will surely set the tone, set the pace, and dominate the economic and geopolitical exigencies of the coming era.

I wonder how many people realize that Pakistan is the second largest Muslim state on earth. A state, as I've said, at the crossroads of the oil-rich Gulf and Central Asia. A state, as I've said, at the crossroads to the markets of South Asia and East Asia. A state that can serve as a model of moderation and modality to one billion Muslims across the planet. As a Pakistani, I wish to explore with you today the West's relationship with the Islamic world and the role that we can play to create a civil, political, economic and religious dialogue between the East and the West at this critical moment.

I believe it was only four years ago, when Harvard Professor Samuel Huntington, shocked the world with his provocative essay entitled "Clash of Civilization." As a Muslim woman, who had been educated and lived extensively in the United States and the United Kingdom, I was initially taken aback by the negative conclusion and the specter of inevitable conflict that he outlined. I particularly disagreed with Professor Huntington's unshakable pessimism about the emerging clash between the West and an increasingly self-confident and economically independent Islamic world.

But, four years later, my assessment of Professor Huntington's thesis has moderated. At the very least, I believe that his article has served a very useful purpose in bringing to the forefront of intellectual opinion significant issues that do warrant exploration, that do warrant debate. For whether we like it or not, whether it must be so or not, the world seems to be increasingly looking at the values and mores of the West and the values and traditions of Islam as mutually exclusive and confrontational.

Let's explore some of these issues today. The world is certainly a different place now than it was just ten short years ago. At that point, the nuclear threat was omnipresent. The Cold War ranged on between the West and the Soviet bloc; reaching a boiling point in the battle for the self-determination of Afghanistan. It was the alliance between the West and the Islamic world, through the fifties and the sixties, through the seventies and the eighties, that was central to the containment of communism on the Asian continent. For communism, Afghanistan became an overheated pressure cooker, that manifested the inevitable doom of a system that could not realistically address its people's political and economic needs.

Muslim resistance to the Soviets in Afghanistan proved once and for all that the Soviet Union could not, with all its military might, suppress the forces of history and the forces of justice. Afghanistan proved that might does not make right. It was the victory of the Mujahadim ; the Islamic freedom fighters supported by the Western Muslim Alliance, that proved to extinguish the fading embers of a dying

system. This alliance that of the Western Muslim Alliance, broke the back of the Soviet Union. It was our joint stand against the Soviet occupiers of Afghanistan that secured for all mankind the final victory of democracy and market-based economics.

I remember vividly my own feelings on February 15, 1989; when, as Prime Minister of Pakistan, I celebrated the final withdrawal of Soviet forces from our frontiers in Afghanistan. Little did I realize at that glorious moment that the victory in Afghanistan would be a catalyst to a curious consequence. The West's interest in, indeed need for, alliance with the Islamic world would and has steadily deteriorated over the last eight years. Interdependence during the Cold War period, gave way to indifference in the post Cold War period. Indifference has now, in many ways, been replaced with apprehension.

There are some in the West who would like to think of Muslims as terrorists and fanatics. I would like to assure you that Muslims are neither. Muslims, on the other hand, who benefited from economic and military assistance from the West for a half a century, are bewildered by the sudden turn of events where aid has totally ceased with the end of the communist threat. Muslims who consider themselves allies of the West do not comprehend the distancing of the West. For instance, a country like Pakistan was receiving \$4.6 billion of military and economic assistance from the United States. Now, if somebody's earning \$1,000 a month and getting an additional \$500 from a friend; and, one day the friend turns around and says, Sorry. I don't have the \$500; live on a \$1,000. That means a drop in living standard. And, that's what it meant for many Muslim countries, including Pakistan.

Suddenly, the aid dried up. And, it coincided with the resurgence of democracy. And, instead of being better off, people were worse off; because now, we had less resources and less income. And, many could not understand why, at a time when the old resources were diminishing, the West was beginning to perceive the Muslims with a certain degree of apprehension. Because Islam is a religion that sanctifies Abraham, Moses and Jesus as prophets, it was even more bewildering for Muslims to find that the West suddenly was suspicious of them. And, Islam is, in fact, an integral part of the Judeo-Christian civilization. So, being an integral part of the Judeo-Christian civilization, it was a sudden shock for Muslims to find that the world was being perceived as being two blocs: that is, the West and Islam.

Now, Muslims do have certain problems with the way the West reacts to certain incidents. For instance, Muslims could not understand why one of the great cities of Europe was reduced to a rubble by a systematic destruction, and that this reduction of the city was captured nightly for all the world to see by CNN.

Muslims could not understand why the West stood by, indifferent. This kind of event of bloodshed in a Muslim city, in the heart of Europe, with the West standing silently by, plays into the hands of extremists who say that, if it were Christian Paris on fire, and not Muslim Sarajevo, would the West have acquiesced? In the heart of Europe, a Muslim city was being destroyed and Muslims all over the world felt abandoned by the West.

So, we muse on the lessons of history and the lessons of human nature. While many in the West believe that there is no place for democracy in Islam, given the few number of democratic Muslim states, Muslims, on the other hand, believe that democracy is inherent in our faith. In Islam, dictatorship is never condoned. Dictatorship is considered a usurpation of the power of the people. Muslims are exalted to fight tyranny where ever they see it; and, indeed, Muslims are told that if you do not have the strength to fight tyranny when you see it, go into exile. But do not stand silent in the face of tyranny. For to be silent in the face of tyranny is to condone tyranny.

There are four democratic principles at the heart of Islam. The first is consultation, or Shura; then, consensus, or Ijma ; and finally independent judgment, or Ijdaha . Instead of Islam being incompatible with democracy, our holy book makes it clear that the principle operations of the democratic process: consultation between the elected officials and the people; accountability of leaders to the people they serve, are fundamental to Islam. The holy book says that Islamic society is contingent on mutual advice, through mutual discussions, on an equal footing. Let me repeat that now: Equal footing. Ladies and gentleman, the Holy Koran is as committed to equality as it is to democracy. As committed to pluralism and tolerance as it is to order and doctrine. I know this is inconsistent with Western stereotypes. But, nevertheless, it is true. Consultation under the Holy Koran demands that public decisions are made by representative personalities. By men and by women who enjoy the confidence of the people and the integrity of their own character. Consensus provides a basis for majority rule. And, according to the Muslim scholar Luis Saffie , the legitimacy of the state depends upon the extent to which state organization and power reflect the will of the Omar , or the people.

And in the Persky element of Islamic democracy, independent judgment, we see an additional element of personal responsibility that the West, too, is trying to emulate and which lies at the heart of the Clinton administration's programmatic ideology, shaped by the writing of sociologist Amatai Edzioni . Islamic law rests on the consent of and the consultation with the people as fundamentally as British Parliamentary democracy or American separation of powers is founded on the people's will.

Western political scientists, these days, hypothesize populist strategies to create more effective forms of participatory democracy. But, Muslims do not believe they have to go back to the drawing board to conceptualize democratic order. It is right there in the holy book. Under Islam, we do not have to create a sense of community and individual responsibility. It is there in the holy book, itself. Enlightened Muslims find Western lectures on democracy condescending. Muslims need the West to acknowledge that dictatorship came out because of the strategic need to contain communism. Dictatorship did not come about because it was a part of Muslim faith or culture.

That is why, for decades, not only Muslim Asia but Spain and Portugal were governed by Fascism. Greece was ruled by military Junta. Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Chile faced social and political repression. On October 21, 1997, in a lecture in Cyprus, Professor Huntington ruefully noted that non-democratic regimes, more often than not, were pro-American. The future of democracy in the post-Cold War world will remain contingent on the strategic interests of Pax Americana. The strategic interests have changed. They are no longer of an ideological nature. They are of an economic nature. Market politics, global trade and energy reserves remain the strategic interests of the West in the new political era in the post-Cold War period.

There is much that Islam and the West can do together to build a new economic and social order, as we approach the new millennium. But, the twenty-first century must be a century of moral universality; not selectivity. It is time for the West to understand that colonialism and exploitation, both of a material and spiritual kind, are over. It is also time for the Islamic world to begin to rely on ourselves and each other to address the lingering problems of the twentieth century and the unlimited opportunities of the twenty-first century.

The Muslim world needs to provide leadership in establishing the public parameters of possibilities and delineating Islam's role in the emerging political order and in the new explosion of technology and communication in the new global economy. In addressing the new exigencies of the new era, we must be prepared to work side-by-side; east and west, with other religions to improve the quality of life for all the people on this earth. And, we Muslims, must live by the true spirit of Islam. Not just by its rituals. To those who would claim to speak for Islam, but would deny to our women a place in society, I say the ethos of Islam is equality. Equality between the sexes. There is no religion that, in its writings and its teachings, is more respectful for the role of women in society than Islam.

To those in the West who would condemn Islam for being anti-women, let me as the first Muslim woman elected Prime Minister of her country recall that three Muslim countries: Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Turkey have all had democratically

elected women as head of their government. In other words, my friends, there is much that we can learn from each other. Islam and the West; the West and Islam, as we cross into a new century and into a new millennium.

There are many problems that we confront simultaneously. The Islamic extremists who burn books and keep young women in purdha are really not that different from the Christian fundamentalists who attack clinics in America or the Jewish extremists who massacre worshippers in Hebron. So, let us decide to cast aside myths and stereotypes about each other. For Islam and for the West, it is time to attack the common and real enemies of our respective societies. These enemies are not people; they are ignorance and hatred. These enemies are not ethnic minorities; they are starvation and intolerance. Myopia and prejudice, whether it be religious, political, ethnic, gender or intellectual, are the common enemies of our hope for the twenty-first century. They are the fuel of the clash of civilization.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are about to cross together into a new century and into a new millennium. Whether we cross the millennium holding hands or at odds with each other is very much in our own control. The opportunities are boundless for all who believe in the blessings of the modern era, the application of technology to addressing the economic and social conditions of mankind; the end of intolerance, the flourishing of democracy and human rights. For Islam and for the West, the forces of change, the thrust of modality and technology, the strength of tolerance, the inevitability of freedom and liberty, the sanctity of human rights are all converging on this time, on our generation. On our generation; yours and mine. Providing an extraordinary opportunity for us to move the world. For in less than 800 days we will witness, for only the third time in recorded history, the momentous turning of the millennium. Where and what will we be at that extraordinary moment, when the huge ball drops and the year 2000 lights up the sky? Will we be prisoners of the mindset of the past? Or, will we be liberated to the endless possibilities of an historic future?

Our generation, yours and mine; the first in history is empowered to control our own destiny. The world has finally accepted, in the words of Robert Browning, that ignorance is not innocent; but sent. So, ladies and gentlemen, I come here to Harvard where I once studied and where you now study to tell you of my vision. For I see a third millennium where the gap between the rich and the poor states evaporates. Where illiteracy and hunger and malnutrition are conquered. I see where human rights are universal. I see a third millennium where civil dialogue is restored. I see a third millennium where people's trust in government and in themselves is restored. I see a third millennium of tolerance where religions respect other religions. I see a third millennium where every child is planned, wanted, nurtured and supported. I see a third millennium where the birth of a

girl child is welcomed with the same joy as the birth of a boy. This is the third millennium I see for my country and for yours. For my children and for yours. And, I hope, together, we succeed. Thank you very much.

Source: Speech came from a page at the the Kennedy School of Government website which no longer exists.

Meet The Press Programme
Speech of Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto
Former Prime Minister & Leader of the Opposition
Delivered at Karachi Press Club
December 21, 1997

Member of the Press,

The people of Pakistan are losing trust in the governments they elect. One of the core reasons for this is that the word corruption is exploited for political purposes. For many in Pakistan corruption is seen as a convenient tool to eliminate political rivals. Those who are corrupt seek refuge in political protection. Those who are not corrupt are humiliated and degraded to fulfill a political agenda.

Many in the country are confused as to who is corrupt and who is not. This is breeding cynicism. Cynicism breeds frustration and chaos. All of us gathered here need to dedicate ourselves to the twin principles that:

- a) Firstly, corruption must be punished where it exists.
- b) Secondly, corruption charges cannot be used as vehicle for a political agenda.

I speak to you from the heart. As a peoples leader. As the symbol of democracy against a hated military regime, an elected Prime Minister who twice was the victim of the most vicious propaganda by fascist elements bent upon tarnishing, undermining and overthrowing the peoples choice. And, having overthrown the peoples choice, manipulating elections to usher in the corrupt elements of the old Zia-ist order. The ISI case before the Supreme Court is open evidence of how money was distributed to deny the electoral victory to the PPP in 1990.

The secrets of the 1997 scandal will pour out too. Already we know the Intelligence Bureau was given Rs. 170 million in a supplementary grant to manipulate the said process to deny the people a Government of their choice. The interim Chief Minister of Sarhad has already stated that the elections were

rigged and the interim Governor of Punjab has also, in his letter of resignation, hinted at the same. Popular leader are not going to abandon the people and run away. Popular leaders have stayed behind and fought the charges in 1977 and in 1990 and will do so again in 1997. But what is the cost of the propaganda war to the people of Pakistan. The sacking of Benazir Government has led:

1. To the sell out of the Kashmiri people who have been struggling for self-determination.
2. An increase of debt to GDP ratio by \$ 2 billion at exorbitantly high interest rates between 16 per cent -20 % The State Bank of Pakistan states debt rose by 16.6 % in one year. (see DAWN on SBP Report)
3. A fifty per cent cut in growth rate.
4. An increase of 3 ½ in deficit (PPP was taking to 4 % in June 1997 but under Nawaz Sharif deficit stood at 7 ½.
5. A massive drop in Revenue. PPP collected more with less taxes than Nawaz regime collected with more taxes.
6. Cut in education expenditure was nearly ½ % of GDP (cut from 2.51% of GDP to 12.19%)
7. Cut of 60% in health expenditure.
8. Cuts in population and environment budget.
9. Scrapping of Ghazi Barotha, Karachi Mass Transit, Lahore Airport, Peshawar Package and Ketu Bander projects to name a few.
10. Massive drop in Foreign Direct Investment.
11. Sacking of thousands of public sector employees.

So the citizens had to pay the price for Palace intrigues.

The citizens have paid indirectly \$ 10 million to finance the game of political vendetta. And they have paid much more in increases in taxes, inflation, unemployment and debt.

This must stop. And to stop propaganda wars in the name of corruption while weeding out corrupt political elements we need to have a national Anti-Corruption Plan.

Corruption charges have toppled four successive governments in less than ten years.

Corruption allegations have robbed our people of their just rewards for honest work.

Corruption has created a shadow economy of unparalleled proportions.

Corruption is undermining the rule of law.

Corruption is eating away at the very fabric of our society like a cancer which cannot be satiated.

Everyone here is aware that I and my family are under intense partisan scrutiny on this issue. Not a day goes by that some new and sensationalized accusation is not made against my character and my integrity.

While this venue is neither the time nor the place to address this most unfortunate turn of events, let me say before proceeding that I remain firm in my positions.

I have served the people faithfully. Neither my family nor I committed any crimes.

Neither I nor my family have defrauded, stolen from nor absconded with any moneys illegally obtained, either while in high office or out.

Neither I nor my family have served to help launder drug money, or could even entertain such a preposterous notion.

And lastly, neither I nor my family have acted in any manner which is in any way corrupt or against the laws of Pakistan, for which we hold our highest respect and is our sworn duty to uphold.

Let me set the record straight:

No evidence, not now or in the past, has ever been produced which proves that I or my family have entertained to corrupt our positions of public trust. It is clearer to me and the people of Pakistan with each passing day that my

detractors and those now in power are making ever more desperate statements and outrageous claims to support the dismissal of the peoples previous government. And, as in the past, my day will come in court where I and my family will respond to any and all specific charges brought against me, my reputation, my character and my integrity.

Let us be clear. Partisan differences are a necessary and healthy component of a vibrant democracy. But this current political witch-hunting goes beyond accepted norms of political behaviors in any democratic system. Partisan genocide leads only to authoritarianism and dictatorship.

And, let me also be clear on this point: I challenge these accusers to come forward with their evidence and charges, to bear the light of day and stop hiding behind the facade of innuendo, sensationalism, and base character assassination. If you have a case against me, as you say with great fanfare to the people of Pakistan and the international community, bring this case forward to a court of law, in full light of day.

And, by way of warning, I draw upon the words of William Penn the Elder, spoken in the British Parliament in the year 1741:

"...that to accuse and prove are very different, and that reproaches unsupported by evidence affect only the character of him that utters them." [William Penn the Elder, 1741]

That being said, I am here today not to publicly defend myself against those who would seek to defile my character. No, history itself will be my defense. For, I can and will defend myself and my family at the appropriate time.

I am here to discuss the Nation's business. And in the nation's business, our failure to address corruption has caused great pain throughout the country.

Our nation faces a crisis of corruption so deep, so pervasive and so tragic in its proportions, that until we seek to address it at its root, to cut-out this cancer afflicting the body of our nation, we, the people of Pakistan, shall remain forever crippled.

It is from my hope for a Pakistan which is honorable; from my hope for a Pakistan which ensures that each and every person can reach his and her full potential; from my hope for a Pakistan which provides fairly for all our citizens; and from my hope for a Pakistan which enters the 21st Century as a maturing and stable multi-party democracy intent to be guided by the rule of law, that I propose -- no demand -- a national effort to address our crisis of corruption.

We have real and pressing problems to address. Yet, our debates begin to mirror even the more incestuous irrelevance of ancient Rome in her final hours.

I look back to 1988 and the Restoration of Democracy, remembering all the faces of hope who came here in the early days of democracy's victory over military dictatorship seeking to use their new power to make a difference in the land, to stir the passions of our people, awakening in them a sense of possibility.

And now, sadly, how far have we come from those lofty days? I look at our political landscape. There too many entrenched interests, now more intent on ensuring a steady flow of federal resources into their pockets than any sincere interest in the betterment of our nation. Billions not paid back. Laws made to launder black money.

Now is the time to unveil our darkest secrets. Now is such a time, and I will be the first to take these steps. Let us all be honest with our own conscience, let us all hold ourselves to the highest ideals of virtue, humility and service which high office requires.

Are our elected representatives doing all we can to improve the lives of our fellow citizens?

Are we spending our precious life's energy -- energy which all too quickly evaporates -- in seeking positive and bold solutions to the pressing and epic problems of our nation?

Or, are those gathered in Islamabad, benefactors and holders of the public's trust, here merely for their own self-interest?

It is time that all of us, and most especially myself, look at our accomplishments, or lack thereof.

And, should we have forgotten along the way that this great nation, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, was founded on the ideals and principles of Islam, let me quote from the Holy Qura'an and its guidance on corruption:

"And, O my people! Give full measure and weight fairly, and defraud not men their things, and do not act corruptly in the land, making mischief." [Chapter 11, verse 85]

For the sake of our discussions, allow me to ponder the meaning of corruption, its roots and causes, and its effects.

Corruption comes from, ultimately, a failure of respect for your nation and a lack of humility before Allah.

Weakness. It comes from a weakness, of desire and longing to be more than the merits of your abilities will allow.

Darkness. It comes from the darkness in our souls, that which knows and responds to greed.

Indolence. It comes from a desire to gain from others without your own pain, toil and sweat.

Fear. In the end, corruption is fear, fear that one is not worthy enough, will not live long enough, does not have enough. It is fear.

The more that our society places value on material wealth as a source of happiness, and excessive material wealth as a source of immortality, the more easily are people prey to the dark values of deception and greed.

Most tragically, our national preoccupation with materialism, rampant materialism, is jading our children's values. We are our children's teachers. They will do as we do.

Today, Pakistan is ranked by the international community along with such rogue regimes as Nigeria, Bolivia, Columbia and Russia, all lands commonly known where bribery has become a prerequisite for business, not the exception.

Increasingly, the international lending community, large multi-national corporations and investors view Pakistan as a land to avoid, not invest in, as our institutions are deemed beyond repair.

Unless we are perceived to be a nation with honorable values, a nation which respects the rule of law and which respects above all else the virtues of hard work and honesty, we will be by-passed, ignored and ultimately overrun by this new global economic engine.

Our task then is to right the wrong which resides inside our own house. Colleagues, I ask each of you to tell me, publicly or otherwise, what you have been doing to stamp-out corruption in your own districts, in your own offices, in your own families. No one has yet been able to take on this issue, in a real and meaningful way, for if we are all truly honest, it appears as if we are all fearful of what might come to pass.

Our fathers and mothers did not create Pakistan so that a select few could rule like imperial lords over an increasingly down-trodden mass.

Our fathers and mothers created Pakistan so our people could be free.

- Free to pursue their deeply held religious beliefs.
- Free to raise a family, provide for their children, give to those whom they love.
- Free to aspire to their highest dreams.

Now is the time for us to treasure those ideals.

It is incumbent upon the leadership of any nation to lead by example. I have tried in my previous governments to be a beacon of light to those less fortunate, those upon whose backs, sweat and toil the grand machine of government is built, and for whom we serve.

And it is to serve those across the land, to whom we owe our highest respect, with their trust, that the Pakistan Peoples Party proposes today a new national plan to expose and excise corruption from our society and from our governance.

A NATIONAL ANTI-CORRUPTION PLAN

1. FULL PUBLIC DISCLOSURE

First, we must create accountability, transparency and trust in our fledgling democratic institutions. To do this, the PPP demands that all those who gain the public's trust and are elected to office must make all their financial holdings public before Chief Election Commissioner.

Each year that we are in office, we must file a full report that must be fully available to any in the press or public who desire to see it.

My previous government started this practice. Unfortunately the present regime stopped it. We must start again.

Many other, successful and prosperous nations, have long ago found that public accountability requires public scrutiny. All government servants must not only make an annual disclosure of assets and liabilities but this must be available to the Press and public upon demand from the Establishment Division.

We call upon all parties to join with us and make this the law of the land. Full accountability and full disclosure for all elected or otherwise officials. I call for

this to happen now. Not next year, not after the next election. Now, without question, is the time.

2. ANTI-TRUST

Second, we must break the monopolies by instituting strong Anti-Trust legislation.

I call upon all political parties to pass strong and viable anti-trust legislation to ensure that the forces of the market regulate corruption in commerce, holding prices low and forcing honesty through competition.

Let us abolish the monopoly, and abolish many a corrupt tendency with it.

3. CREATE A "CODE OF PUBLIC TRUST"

Third, we can and should create a new "Code of Public Trust", the purpose of which is to enunciate those principles of virtue, honesty and integrity in public commerce which all companies doing business with the government, or bidding on any business with the government, must first sign. Any company which signs this covenant, and which then violates these principles shall be immediately terminated from any and all government contracts for a period of at least five years, and that company and its officials shall be placed on a black list, for all to see.

This code would include a series of statements of faith, honesty and openness which that company and its executors will follow.

I call upon my colleagues in the National Assembly, from all parties, to constitute this code through the forming of a new Code of Public Trust commission within the National Assembly. Let us give ourselves six months to accomplish this task. The people of Pakistan, whose hard work provides the tax dollars which pay our salaries and create the largess of government contracts deserve to know that their hard work is well spent, in an honest way.

To help us in this matter, I circulate for your consideration a draft code prepared by the United Nations, and urge all of my colleagues to give these words your due consideration.

4. OFFICE OF AUDITOR GENERAL

Fourth, many of the more successful democratic governments have created a budgetary watchdog agency, or Office of the Controller, independent from

political pressures. Pakistan needs an independent Auditor General to provide verifiable audits of suspected improprieties within the government.

5. CIVIL SERVANTS DECENT WAGE

Fifth, we must pay our civil servants a decent wage. Government employees have power, and, if underpaid, they may use that power to seek increased financial security and wealth. We can curtail this by providing decent wages, as well as increasing the penalties for acts of corruption within the civil service.

I call upon all the parties in the National Assembly to constitute a second all-party commission on the Civil Service to investigate and ensure that our citizens in the civil service are adequately provided for.

6. EDUCATE OUR YOUTH

Lastly and most important to the future of our great nation, we must instill in our youth through education that corruption is a sin, that it will shred the fabric of one's character, destroy one's family and ultimately one's nation. The PPP calls for programs in every school which expound the virtues of honesty and trustworthiness. If we do not teach our children that the path of corruption is destructive to themselves, their families and the nation, then our society cannot prosper.

What the Pakistan People's Party is proposing today is a good first step, a move in the right direction and a warning to current and future generations that the leadership of this great nation does indeed hold honesty, integrity and trustworthiness to be of the highest value to which all of us must aspire.

They are values which I, in spite of the unfortunate political bickering, will hold myself to and those around me. And, as this debate moves forward, as well as the actions, statements and frivolous accusations against me on this very same issue, let us not lose sight of the fact that corruption has become pervasive in Pakistan, and must be removed at every level.

And, if this unfortunate attack on my character will do nothing else than galvanize the nation to rid itself for ever of the dark veil of secrecy and deceit called corruption, then that is enough. For I will have served my nation the greater good. And in the words of an author much more eloquent than I:

"Love thyself last: cherish those hearts that hate thee; corruption wins not more than honesty.

Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace, to silence envious tongues.

Be just, and fear not: let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's, thy God's and truth's. [William Shakespeare, King Henry VIII]

I thank you for your time.

INTERNATIONAL CODE OF CONDUCT FOR PUBLIC OFFICIALS

(Prepared by the Crime Prevention and Control Division of the United Nations, Vienna)

I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. A public office, as defined by national law, is a position of trust, implying a duty to act in the public interest. Therefore, the ultimate loyalty of public officials shall be to the public interests of their country as expressed through the democratic institutions of government.
2. Public officials shall ensure that they perform their duties and functions efficiently and effectively, in accordance with laws or administrative policies, and with integrity. They shall at all times seek to ensure that public resources for which they are responsible are administered in the most effective and efficient manner.
3. Public officials shall be attentive, fair and impartial in the performance of their functions and, in particular, in their relations with the public. They shall at no time afford any undue preferential treatment to any group or individual or improperly discriminate against any group or individual, or otherwise abuse the power and authority vested in them.

II. CONFLICTS OF INTEREST AND DISQUALIFICATION

4. Public officials shall not use their official authority for the improper advancement of their own or their family's personal or financial interest. They shall not engage in any transaction, acquire any position or function, or have any financial, commercial or other comparable interest that is incompatible with their office, functions and duties or the discharge thereof.
5. Public officials, to the extent required by the officials' position, shall in accordance with laws or administrative policies, declare business, commercial and financial interests, or activities undertaken for financial gain that may raise a possible conflict of interest. In situations of possible or perceived conflict of interest between public officials' duties and private interests they shall comply with the measures established to reduce or eliminate such conflict of interest.

6. Public officials shall at no time improperly use public moneys, property, services, or information which is acquired in the performance of, or as a result of, their official duties for activities not related to their official work.

7. Public officials shall comply with measures established by law or administrative policies in order that after leaving their official positions they will not take improper advantage of their previous office.

III. DISCLOSURE OF ASSETS

8. Public officials shall, in accord with the officials' position, and as permitted or required by law and administrative policies, comply with requirements to declare or to disclose personal assets and liabilities, as well as, if possible, those of their spouses and/or dependents.

IV. ACCEPTANCE OF GIFTS OR OTHER FAVOURS

9. Public officials shall not solicit or receive directly or indirectly any gift or other favours which may influence the exercise of their functions, performance of their duties or their judgment.

V. CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION

10. Matters of a confidential nature in the possession of public officials shall be kept confidential unless national legislation, the performance of duty or the needs of justice strictly require otherwise. Such restrictions shall apply also after separation from service.

VI. POLITICAL ACTIVITY

11. The political or other activity of public officials outside the scope of their office shall, in accordance with laws and administrative policies, not be such as to impair public confidence in the impartial performance of their functions and duties.

Thank you, Members of the Press

Unique Lives and Experiences Lecture Series
Ms Benazir Bhutto
Leader of the Opposition
Speech delivered at Minneapolis - USA

29 April 1998

Honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen,

I am no stranger to North America. As many of you may know, I spent four of the happiest years of my life as a student at Harvard College in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Those days now seem like a distant dream.

For the last eighteen months, since the democratically elected government in Pakistan was toppled, my party, my family and myself have been persecuted, victimized, harassed and in some cases tortured.

My husband has remained in jail since the first day my government was seized, and has remained incarcerated, despite his desperate need for medical treatment, despite the fact that he is an elected member of the Senate of Pakistan, despite the fact that he has been convicted of no crime.

He languishes in prison, a hostage to my political career.

Ladies and gentlemen, I know it has become the fashion both in the developed and developing world over the last decade, to destroy leaders' reputations by innuendo, allegation and rumour.

Governments rise and fall not on performance but on personality, not by accountability but allegation, not on facts but on slurs.

I have seen it in country after country, and we now see it targeted against the President of the United States.

But I am afraid what has been done to me and to my party is beyond anything attempted anywhere in the world.

For what has happened to me, what is happening in Pakistan, may not in fact be unique, but part of a growing and disturbing trend as the world approaches the new millennium.

The attacks against me are a more extreme version of what seems to be a universal deterioration of civil dialogue in politics, not just in Pakistan, but all over our world.

The search for political consensus, the main characteristic of a democratic society, has degenerated into partisan hysteria, a rule or ruin philosophy.

The breakdown of cooperation threatens the legitimacy of democratic values and norms in the modern, post Cold War international society.

Let me read you some thoughts that capture what I am trying to say to you today.

"Partisan politics is polluting our most important legal and ethical processes...and is damaging our political system. Proceedings, while billed as impartial, have become little more than witch hunts designed to humiliate the opposing political party...The scandal machine that has developed bankrupts individuals, who are little more than pawns in larger political agendas. It threatens the ability of the political system to attract the bright, dedicated people that our nation deserves.

It undermines public confidence in government and its leaders."

These are not my words, but they could be.

This is not written about Pakistan, but it might as well be.

What I have quoted to you are the words of Robert Bennett, a distinguished American lawyer, from an essay attacking the subjugation of the legal and ethical process to a blatantly partisan political agenda.

The Nazi propagandist Joseph Goebbels once said that "if you repeat a lie five times, it becomes the truth.

With the Clinton episode, the Goebbels adage has shifted to "if you make ten allegations, it suddenly becomes a fact."

The fascist government of Pakistan has attempted to divert Pakistani public attention from their total incompetence and failure to manage the economy and the social infrastructure of the country, in a flagrant ruse to assassinate my reputation as a political leader.

I have been accused of every crime under the sun. My husband has actually been accused of the murder of my own brother. Outrageous claims of graft and corruption have been leveled in the press to sully my name.

\$12 million of public money has been spent on hiring detectives, stealing documents and launching a media campaign.

A new law, the Accountability law, has been passed with retrospective effect. It has been thrice amended to suit the convenience of the regime.

A member of the ruling parliamentary group has been given vast police powers to launch a one-sided, partisan inquiry with the sole purpose of framing, by hook or by crook, the former Prime Minister and leader of the Opposition.

The regime seeks to disqualify my family and myself for it fears that if I am not disqualified it will lose the next general elections to me and to my Party.

The regime seeks to disqualify me so that it can dismantle the democratic system and impose a one party dictatorship.

Yet, in all of this attempt to destroy me before the jury of public opinion, slurs have never been substantiated, allegations never proven, witnesses never deposed, a case of financial impropriety never made.

Over the last eighteen months of witch hunts and special courts, not a single notice of corruption has been lodged against me. Despite the efforts at extortion and manipulation, the fascist junta has failed in their attempt to destroy me with the people.

Day after day, our strength on the street grows, the number of political parties in our coalition expands, the time of the collaborators of dictators grow short. As in the past, truth, justice and the forces of history cannot be denied.

The last 18 months have been but one more difficult period in my 44 years, which has seemingly been filled with enough experiences, triumphs and tragedies to fill ten lifetimes. It is painful for me in Pakistan, but I have endured worse, much worse.

Unique Lives and Experiences Lecture Series
Ms Benazir Bhutto
Leader of the Opposition
Speech delivered at Montreal - CANADA
30 April 1998

Ladies and gentlemen,

I came to Harvard in 1969, at the heart of the Vietnam War, with our campus, and all of America, in political and social turmoil.

In time, I, like many of my classmates, took to the streets, took to the barricades, demanding an end to an unjust war.

And while I was in America for those four years, I participated and observed in a miracle of democracy -- I saw the power of the people changing policies, changing leaders, and changing history.

It was that early experience, possibly more than anything else, that shaped my political being that unalterably shaped my faith in democracy.

From Harvard I went on to Oxford University in England, where I became the first foreign woman to be elected as President of the Oxford Union. It was my first election, my first victory.

I had been told that as a foreigner, I could not win and should not run.

I had been told that as a woman, I could not win, and should not run.

I refused to accept the arbitrary barriers of bygone eras.

I knew I could win, and I did.

Thus, I learned a valuable lesson: never acquiesce to obstacles, especially those that are constructed of bigotry, intolerance and blind, inflexible tradition.

I also learned another critical lesson in life -- to follow my own political instincts.

I returned to Pakistan in 1977, hoping to pursue a career in the Foreign Service. Previously, I had toyed with the idea of entering the media world, as my family owned several newspapers.

I always knew that, after University, I would work. My father encouraged me to have a career. However, I did not want to enter politics.

My father had been, and was in politics. The politics of South Asia frightened me: assassinations, upheavals, insurgencies, great poverty and inequality.

I wanted to escape the instability of my youth. I wanted to build a life of order and stability for myself. A life of routine.

Order, stability, routine held the promise of a structured and secure life, an ordinary life - one far away from the constant shadows and clouds that had cast themselves on my childhood as the daughter of Pakistan's most outspoken Opposition Leader who became President and Prime Minister riding the crest of a popular movement.

But it was not to be.

Circumstances soon unfolded that would dictate the path of the rest of my life and change the direction of the future of my country.

Within one week of my return from Oxford, a military coup toppled the elected democratic government of my father.

In the early hours of the morning, my sleep was disturbed with the frantic knocking on my bedroom door. It was my mother. Our house was surrounded by tanks.

A brutal and cruel dictator had overturned a free and fair election, imposed martial law, and suspended all constitutional rights within my country. My father was arrested, released, re-arrested and finally hanged.

My party was targeted. Our leaders were murdered, tortured, imprisoned. The lucky ones went into exile.

It was during this period of turmoil that I was catapulted into a life far different than the one of which I had dreamt.

A political vacuum was created with the imprisonment of my Father and his colleagues.

In this vacuum, I saw many members turn towards me to lead rallies, tour the country and seek a restoration of democracy.

I did not seek leadership, it was thrust upon me. Tragedy, political circumstances, and the forces of history rallied a nation around me.

The Pakistan Peoples Party provided me, a woman, the opportunity to lead the nation because the PPP had an enlightened, liberal message, proclaiming the equality of men and women.

This was not an easy task at a time when the military dictatorship insisted that a woman's place was in the house and behind the veil, and not in the work place.

In November of 1988, my party was swept into office and I was sworn in as the first Muslim woman to head a government anywhere in the world.

I was 35 years old. I was the only woman in history to be elected to head a government in the Islamic world.

I was the youngest elected leader in the world.

I was also a wife and the mother of a baby son.

We immediately embarked on an ambitious program of political liberalization, an end to press censorship, legalization of trade unions, a commitment to the long neglected social sector with emphasis on education, health delivery and women's rights, and macroeconomic reform.

However, members of the religious parties and conservative minded segments of the public embarked on a mission to create a religious frenzy against the newly elected government.

Pamphlets were distributed claiming it was the religious duty of the people in the country to assassinate me, as I was a woman who had usurped a man's place in an Islamic society.

Several assassination attempts were made including one within the first month of my election at the Lahore airport.

The removal of the government was branded a religious mission by some of the religious parties. Every Friday, from the mosques, sermons were given inciting the people to overthrow the government.

And although my opponents fulminated, calling me an Indian agent and an Israeli agent, the people supported me.

Despite the peoples support, after just 20 months, the entrenched Establishment that had supported the dictatorship, that had refused to bow to the people's will, toppled my government ., However, the new government brought in by the security apparatus of the country failed to give Pakistan stability. It launched bitter battle of persecution against its political opponents. The result was that anarchy and chaos gripped the Nation. Pakistan was on the threshold of being declared a terrorist state and our economy was on the verge of collapse.

My party did not lose its faith in one nor did I lose my faith in politics or the people of my country. Only three years after the coup against me, I was re-elected a Prime Minister of Pakistan.

In reflection, I realized that being a leader in a large developing country that had been stifled by the forces of dictatorship was difficult in itself. But being a woman made the task even more formidable. I faced greater challenges than I could have ever imagined.

Unfortunately, there are still many people out there who would just as soon have us fail, to reinforce their myopic stereotypes restricting the role of women.

I recall with great empathy the words of Baroness Margaret Thatcher, who once said:

"If a woman is tough, she is pushy.
If a man is tough, gosh, he's a great leader."

How often, in Pakistan, in North America, all over the world, we have heard characterizations of women in politics as pushy, as aggressive, as cunning, as shrewd, as strident.

These words, if applied to men in politics, would be badges of honour! Those of us who have chosen to serve in business, government and other professional careers have broken new ground.

We have broken glass ceilings, we have broken the stereotypes, and we have been and continue to be prepared to go the extra mile, to be judged by unrealistic standards, to be held more accountable.

Therefore, women leaders have to outperform, outdistance and out manage men at every level. We should not shrink from this responsibility, we should welcome it.

Welcome it on behalf of women all over the world, in cities and rural villages, in the great universities and those still struggling under the miasma of illiteracy.

For all who have suffered before, and for all who come after us, we are privileged to be in this special position, in this special time, with unique opportunities to change our countries, our continents, to change the world and inevitably change the future.

Of course we can sit back, and complain about the problems, the obstacles, the inequity, the bad cards dealt to us. Or we can stand up, roll up our sleeves, and get down to work, accepting the slings and the arrows as part of the job of being a leader at the end of the 20th century.

Unique Lives and Experiences Lecture Series

Ms Benazir Bhutto

Leader of the Opposition

Speech delivered at Boston - USA

May 01, 1998

Ladies and gentlemen,

I recall the vivid images of Dantes Divine Comedy, and his characterization that "the hottest place in hell is reserved for those who remain neutral at times of moral crisis."

This is not time for neutrality or inaction. The special demands of this extraordinary historical moment requires great action from men and women of great vision and courage.

In that regard, I cannot but be uplifted and empowered by the recent accord signed in Belfast on Good Friday to end the conflagration in Northern Ireland. The agreement was reached after years of backbreaking negotiations jump started by President Clinton and former Senator George Mitchell.

They saw a situation where men and women of moderation and good will needed a champion willing to take risks to bring the parties together.

Clinton acted in the great tradition of President Harry Truman, who with George Marshall shaped and defined the modern era with a bold economic plan to contain communism in Europe called the Marshall Plan, and a political and military alliance called NATO.

But President Harry S. Truman was a leader, and not a follower.

He chose to convince a reluctant public, and built a national consensus in America and the West that was maintained through forty years of Cold War, and ultimately led to the triumph of freedom and market based economics that has swept over this planet with the implosion of communism.

There is a lesson to be learned in this. Nothing ventured, nothing gained.

We hope that the path to reconciliation in Northern Ireland through honest mediation by the world's sole superpower can be repeated in other areas of the world where the problems look equally intractable, equally impossible, but where men and women of good, will look beyond fear and loathing to reconciliation and resolution.

If Northern Ireland can be settled, why not a new initiative to save the frozen peace process in the Middle East.

If Northern Ireland can be resolved, cannot the world turn its attention to the horrors in Kosovo before Kosovo becomes another Bosnian genocide. If Northern Ireland can be settled, why not a new and credible initiative to bring India, Pakistan, and the Kashmiris together to finally resolve the Kashmir issue which hangs like a sword of Damocles across not only South Asia, but the entire world.

The valley of Kashmir has been occupied by India and denied the basic right of self-determination. Tens of thousands of men, women and children have lost their lives in the quest for freedom.

Villages have been burnt. Women and children targeted.

Three wars over Kashmir have wrought devastation in its path. Today, 600,000 troops hold the people of Kashmir hostage.

We who support freedom in the world ought not remain silent when freedom is threatened.

That is why I say, it is time now, consistent with President Clinton's stated policy of preemptive crisis management, to facilitate an agreement between India and Pakistan so that the people of Kashmir and Jammu are finally allowed to determine their own political futures on the basis of the right to self determination.

This is the moment of opportunity.

This is also the moment, as we cross the millennium, for the world to finally become sensitive to and tolerant of different cultures, different religions and different peoples.

The west needs to appreciate and understand the East, for we are all part of the same Judaic, Christian, Muslim Civilization. We are all people of the Book.

I would ask leaders in the West, not to think of the people of the East as terrorists or fanatics.

No doubt there are extremists in each society in each country.

However, it is the misfortune of the Information Age that while we think we have more information for each other in fact we have less. The reason we have less knowledge is that the Information Age often broadcasts the extreme rather than the mainstream.

The mainstream in the East is very much the mainstream in the West if not more so. The mainstream in the East is grounded in faith, in family, in our dreams for the future.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I have attempted, throughout my career, to combine the best of many cultures, the richness of disparate experiences, to build for my people the ability to compete and thrive in the challenging new technological era. Introducing the world of modern communication into Pakistan was one of the goals of my party.

We heralded the information revolution by introducing fax machines, digital pagers, optic fiber, cellular telephones, satellite dishes, internet, the e-mail and even CNN into Pakistan.

We implemented a policy which guaranteed to 95% of our urban population and 70% of our rural population adequate sewage facilities.

We constructed over 30,000 new primary and secondary schools in three years and renovated an additional 9,800 ones. Of these new schools, approximately 70% were for girls.

We recruited 53,000 new teachers, 70% of whom were women.

We increased the health budget by 60% and the WHO gave me a gold medal in recognition of Pakistan's effort to eliminate polio and provide basic health facilities to our people.

We recruited and trained an army of women, 50,000 strong, to tackle the problems of infant mortality and population control. In my two terms as Prime Minister of Pakistan, one of the nine most populated countries in the world, we brought down the population growth rate from 3.1% to 2.6%.

We brought our energy revolution directly to the people of Pakistan ending 16 hours of daily power shut downs which had crippled the economy and stunted growth.

We brought the fruits of the energy revolution to the villages which had lived in darkness for centuries, electrifying over 18,000 villages in three years.

All this needed money. And we pumped in resources toward the social sector while cutting the countries deficit and reducing its national debt.

We built 10,000 kilometers of roads and 100,000 homes per year for the needy and deserving.

The social revolution we had launched came to a grinding halt the day I was dismissed.

Today, education, health, population and the environment are starved for funds while Big Bank defaulters, led by the Prime Minister, seek to enact laws meant for personal benefit and neglect the people of the land.

My friends, I am proud that the government I led brought about a miraculous transformation of a society.

We opened up markets and we opened up minds. We attacked prejudice and discrimination.

We carved out an entrepreneurial society where young men and women had the freedom to choose their careers, and to embark on business ventures to compete with each other and with the world.

Unique Lives and Experiences Lecture Series

Speech by Ms Benazir Bhutto

Leader of the Opposition

Delivered at Cambridge - USA

May 02, 1998

Ladies and gentlemen,

Ladies and gentlemen leadership and courage are often synonymous.

Ultimately, leadership depends on action, daring to take actions that are necessary but unpopular, to challenging institutions and traditions.

To do what is right, not necessarily what is popular.

To educate and move an electorate, as opposed to just responding to what people want.

In Pakistan, we demonstrated leadership by increasing revenue to create sensible macroeconomic policy.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Our generation stands at the door way of history.

Not only the door way of a new century, but the doorway of a new millennium.

And as we prepare ourselves to meet this century, this new millennium, I believe we need to clearly understand the challenges that still await us and await the century.

It is up to us, all of us, to determine the moral parameters of that new era -- the coming decade, the coming century, the coming millennium.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Our generation, the first in recorded history, is fundamentally empowered with the control of its own destiny.

The chains of the past -- colonialism, ignorance, dictatorship and sexism -- are broken.

The world has finally accepted, in the words of Robert Browning, that "ignorance is not innocence, but sin."

We must persevere and not be intimidated by fear, not constrained by obstacles.

I remember the last words of my father to me, writing to me from his death cell, quoting Robert F. Kennedy on Tennyson:

"Every generation has a central concern, whether to end war, erase racial injustice, or improve the conditions of working people. Young people today demand a government that speaks directly and honestly to its citizens.

The possibilities are too great, the stakes too high, to bequeath to the coming generation only the prophetic lament of Tennyson:

'Ah, what shall I be at fifty...If I find the world so bitter at twenty-five.'

I remember my father's words. I will not be afraid. I will continue to speak, to fight, to help build a newer world.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Explosions versus Emergency
Speech of Ms Benazir Bhutto on
Proclamation of Emergency
June 8, 1998

Ladies and gentlemen,

It was with a rude shock that the nation was informed of the Proclamation of Emergency, where with a stroke of the pen all the Fundamental Rights were suspended.

Ever since it assumed office, the Nawaz regime has assiduously sought to dismantle democracy. One by one, independent centers of power had to go. The independent President, the independent Chief Justice, the independent Chief Election Commissioner all fell victim to the machinations of this regime.

Three Special laws, Ehtesaab, Anti-Terrorist IPP were made which were opposition specific. And then, hiding behind the Nuclear blast, the regime embarked on a partisan agenda of seizing property and seizing freedom.

There is not a single precedent in the history of the countries who have conducted nuclear tests where emergency has been declared or Fundamental Rights denied. Representative governments trust their people. Obviously this regime did not trust the people of Pakistan. A single appeal to people not to withdraw foreign currency would have led to an outpouring of patriotism. This was not done and we condemn it.

The Pakistan Peoples Party sees no justification for imposing emergency and suspending all the Fundamental Rights. People of Pakistan, are not less patriotic than the citizens of India? If India did not need Emergency, people want to know why Pakistan needs Emergency. It is not Pakistan that needs this draconian action. It is an unpopular dictator who fears the wrath of his people.

Under our Constitution, there are three different kinds of proclamations of emergency. One in the event of external aggression or internal disturbance beyond the control of a Provincial Government. The second kind is when the President is satisfied that the government of a province cannot be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. This emergency is commonly known as "Governor's Rule". The third is a Proclamation which the President can issue when the financial stability of the country is threatened. This is called "Financial Emergency".

It seems the President has issued a Proclamation of Emergency because he is satisfied that the security of Pakistan is threatened by war or external aggression. However after the successful nuclear tests, the regime was assuring the nation that "the nuclear tests successfully carried out by Pakistan have averted the threats of aggression by India and now balance of power has been achieved in the South Asia which is necessary for preservation of peace".

We have been categorically told that "successful nuclear tests by Pakistan will prove an effective deterrent against aggressive and expansionists aims and designs of India".

With such statements from responsible officials of the State, it would appear that the threat of war has been averted. And if the threat of external aggression has receded, there is no valid reason for the enforcement of Emergency.

The real reason was a fear by the regime of a run on foreign currency accounts.

Having mismanaged the economy and having exhausted forex reserves, the regime saw a golden opportunity in the nuclear tests to grab the foreign currency held by Pakistani citizens. (Of course it first used insider knowledge to take out money belonging to the ruling family and their friends and cronies).

The latest statement whereby depositors have been told to collect their money in Rupees or else they will face scrutiny discloses the whole game. The Economic Reforms Act promised protection of Foreign Currency Accounts. But the regime is violating that protection to illicitly grab money of middle classes. The regime wants dollars and it is taking the dollars of the citizens by force. It is threatening the citizens in its typical bully boy fashion. Take the Rupee while you can or I will not even let you have that. This is sheer blackmail!

Lately the regime has started resorting to legislation through Ordinances despite having a two-third majority in the Parliament. The Anti-Terrorism Act, 1997, the amendments in Contempt of Court Law of 1997, The Eradication of Corruption

Ordinance, 1998 and the Ordinances promulgated to amend The Ehtesab Act are some of the statutes which clearly reflect contempt for Parliament.

The proclamation of Emergency shows contempt for our people and for their property rights. We protest against this action. This action shows the bankruptcy of the economic policies of this regime

At this crucial juncture, the Government should have promoted harmony and unity in the nation instead of promotion of further polarisation, unrest and sense of insecurity both among the provinces and the people of Pakistan. Therefore in the national interest, we call upon the regime to withdraw the proclamation of Emergency forthwith.

Budget Speech

by Leader of the Opposition, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto

June 15, 1998

Ladies and gentlemen,

As I address the National Assembly in the first budget session after Pakistan joined the nuclear club, I recall the words of our founder. Fifty years ago Quaid-e-Azam had prophesied "Pakistan has come to stay". Quaid-e-Azam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto gave us the nuclear technology to fulfill that prophecy in the face of Indian intransigence.

The facility at Kahuta where Pakistan developed its nuclear capability was established by Prime Minister Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was warned of being made a "horrible example" and finally assassinated. Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan and the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission working under Prime Minister Bhutto's instructions with their teams fulfilled the mission given to them. We always hoped that India and Pakistan would make the sub-continent a nuclear free zone. Those dreams were shattered by the Indian explosion. We must ask: "Why"?

For more than 20 years, when the Kahuta Laboratories were established in 1976 and the five Indian nuclear tests of May 11, 1998, India was restrained from testing nuclear weapons by a vigilant Pakistan. We ask what were the circumstances emboldening the Indian government to defy world opinion.

The answer lies in the policy of APPEASEMENT, adopted by Nawaz Sharif towards India so that he could concentrate on his internal enemies. Benazir

replaced Kashmir as Pakistan's foreign Policy. Principles were abandoned. People of Kashmir were abandoned. All morals were abandoned.

India had larger markets to offer the Ittefaq regime, which had already cornered the sugar, textile, fertilizer, cement, and banking sector of Pakistan. So the son was sent as a special envoy. The Indians sensed the weakness of the new Pakistani leadership. They tasted its commercial flavour. And they took Pakistan and the world by surprise.

The Indians calculated they had nothing to lose. The Americans had brought the Soviet Union to the point of disintegration by upping the ante. India decided to up the ante. If they detonated, Pakistan would be forced to detonate. They calculated that if Pakistan did not detonate, they could attack Azad Kashmir. If Pakistan did detonate Pakistan's weak industrial base and mismanagement of the economy dominated by Motorway kickbacks would lead to an internal explosion.

The policy of appeasement led to its logical conclusion.

Today Pakistan is facing the gravest threat to its security since the fall of Dacca.

I had been warning of this internal, economic threat time and again.

The budget speech gave an impression of Business As Usual in stark contrast to the speech by Nawaz Sharif a day earlier. The reality is that since the dismissal of the PPP government on November 4, 1996, Pakistan has slipped into anarchy and chaos. Today we stand internationally isolated, politically divided and economically bankrupt.

- The Finance Minister failed to tell the Nation why;
- The Nawaz regime had rolled back the frontiers of the free market economy;
- What the effects of sanctions would be;
- How these would be met,
- How much aid flow was affected;
- Whether Pakistan would default and declare a moratorium on further debt repayment;
- How the de-dollarisation of the economy would affect money supply, the value of the rupee and inflation;

The Budget for 98-99 did not indicate how we would reduce debt and become self-sufficient.

Instead of building up a climate of confidence and understanding, the regime has willfully created panic, fear and disharmony. The measures taken by the regime to destabilize Pakistan include:

- The declaration of Emergency suspending all human rights;
- The confiscation of foreign currency;
- The declaration to build a controversial Dam alienating three of the four federating units;
- Misappropriation of public money to pursue a political vendetta
- Mr. Nawaz Sharif came on TV to announce a so-called "National Agenda".

He came across as desperate man making wild and unrealistic empty promises. He had nothing to offer the Nation. He talked of:

Land Reforms of 1977 which have already been implemented except by the collaborators of the Martial Law regime. He refused to give up the 1700 acres in the heart of Raiwand, which he and his family have grabbed in violation of the land reforms of 1977. They have robbed Rs. 70 crores to build a canal of water there and rupees 2 billion from WAPDA to import and build an uninterrupted water supply. This is a gross abuse of power and the resources of the state for which he will have to account;

He promised to give loans of Rs. 3 - 50 lacs to the un-employed knowing the money was not there;

He promised to build Kalabagh Dam without disclosing where the money was to come from;

He asked the nation to drink half a cup of tea and use one spoon of ghee while his regime relaxed rules for the import of luxury items such as air conditioners and expensive cars for Redco's benefit;

His personal agenda came to the fore when he said the former Prime Minister had caused him losses by refusing to give railway wagons to the ship "Jonathan" carrying scarp. He hid the fact that he had abused his position under General Zia to construct a dry port at Ittefaq Foundries and got Pakistan Railways to transport scrap at concessional fees, causing Pakistan Railways a loss of Rs. 2 lacs per train (see Annex I of "The Dawn" July 22, 1989)

He hid the fact that he made money out of the "Jonathan" incident when he got compensation of about 8 crores of public money by a court process where the defence and state had colluded;

He declined to tell the Nation that he had taken Ittefaq Foundries for free under a Martial Law Regulation with the assets in tact and the liabilities written off. He failed to mention that it was an iron mongery before nationalization.

He failed to tell the nation he had plundered billions of rupees to build himself scores of factories in three years, of how he had sold 600 plots in one evening to make a packet, of how he had bought up land at Raiwand at throwaway prices and then declared it an industrial estate;

He failed to tell the nation that he has embezzled about Rs. 1 billion to malign the Leader of Opposition for exposing his fraud, corruption, misconduct and abuse of office.

He failed to tell the people that he was scandalizing the pre-shipment firms because they had discovered \$650 million of uncollected customs dues. (see Annex 2)

The people want Nawaz Sharif to return the 1000 crores that he has plundered. Returning 2 or 3 debt ridden assets with a view to plunder the rest will not do. The people know that there were no engineered defaults. These are engineered excuses to hang on to ill-gotten wealth. The people cannot be expected to make sacrifices when the rulers are bent upon keeping ill-gotten assets even at a time of national crisis.

The combined expenditure of the Prime Minister's Secretariat, the President's Secretariat, the National Assembly, the Senate and the Supreme Court of Pakistan doesn't come to the amount that defaulter Nawaz Sharif and his gang of defaulters is lavishly spending in its criminal conspiracy internationally to malign the leader of the Opposition who happens to be the twice elected Prime Minister of Pakistan and the architect of its Missile Technology.

The Pakistan Peoples Party demands that:

A judicial commission inquiry into the corruption allegations against Nawaz Sharif, his family and his cronies.

A judicial commission identifies all state funds usurped, embezzled and unlawfully taken for the personal vendetta against the leader of opposition.

This money belongs to Pakistan. Our people will take it back, every paisa from Nawaz Sharif and his henchmen. How dare he take money from the pockets of the poor people of Pakistan to squander on detectives, propaganda and forgery against his political opponents?

Suitcases of dollars are given to members of Ehtesab Bureau.

A chain of information centers have been set up world wide for the propaganda war against the champion of democracy and rule of law to leave the Nation leaderless in its hour of crisis. The people for the forces of truth will defeat this sinister campaign by savage tyrants for justice can not be for ever denied.

While our people drink a half-cup of tea, the Ministry of Information eats barrels of cash in its propaganda war. These include:

(98-99)

Demand No. 64 for information of Ministry of Information
Rs. 76,779,000 Last year Rs. 73,674,000 was spent on "Publicity"

(98-99)

Demand No. 65 for documentaries of Information Ministry
Rs. 31,799,000 Last year Rs. 37,896,000 was spent on "Publicity"

(98-99)

Demand No. 66 for information Department of Information Ministry
Rs. 85,522,000 Last year Rs. 94,423,000 was spent on "Publicity" and "Recreation"

(98-99)

Demand No. 67 for information abroad of Information Ministry
Rs. 87,405,000 Last year Rs. 116,927,000 was spent

(98-99)

Demand No. 68 for other expenditure of information Ministry
Rs. 588,683,000 Last year Rs. 105,065,000 was spent on "Publicity"

(98-99)

Demand No. 129 for development of information Ministry
Rs. 25,400,000 The whole amount was allocated for "Publicity" TOTAL Rs.
895,588,000/-

This comes to a staggering sum of nearly one billion rupees.

The expenditure on the entire state machinery comes to half that :

Prime Minister's Secretariat	Rs. 98,457,000
The Supreme Court	Rs. 69,559,000
The President	Rs. 74,666,000

The National Assembly	Rs. 250,439,000
The Senate	Rs. 111,240,000
 TOTAL	 Rs. 604,361,000

It is nothing but a cruel joke for defaulter Nawaz Sharif to come on TV and say that he will leave the Prime Minister Secretariat. The cost of all the main institutions, including the Presidency, the Prime Minister Secretariat, the Supreme Court, the National Assembly and the Senate is less than the ill-gotten expenditure on the propaganda war against the Leader of Opposition.

This cost excludes the ill-gotten money spent on:

Ehtesab Bureau and its secret expenditure;

Law Ministry's expenditure on lawyers and accountants;

Intelligence Bureau's expenditure through secret services funds;

Prime Minister Secretariat expenditure through secret services funds;

The divisive policies of the regime are sabotaging the progress and prosperity of the Nation.

The poor grow poorer. The middle class cannot make ends meet. Government employees lack job security. Labour can hardly make ends meet. Shops are starved for customers. Foreign investors have been threatened and scandalized. Bureaucrats and Bankers vilified. No institution has been left with respect or sanctity. There is discontent and disillusionment. The people feel cheated and angry. Hunger stalks the land. Young people commit suicide because they cannot make ends meet.

And we spend one billion rupees on propaganda.

Considering the grave crisis threatening the very existence of Pakistan, we expected the Finance Minister to announce austerity measures. This was not done.

The Federal government has grown too large. The time has come for us to live within our means. The Peoples Party calls for a real cut in federal expenditure. This means doing away with unnecessary ministries, divisions and buildings.

This means transferring government to the provinces and to the districts. This means devolution. It means trusting the people.

The Peoples Party began the process of district government by creating Social Action Boards consisting of elected members at the district level. The Social Action Boards did remarkable work building 30,000 primary schools in 3 years, launching a campaign to iodize salt, eliminate polio, reduce the population growth rate and grow trees to protect the environment.

It is not enough to transfer resources to the provinces alone which have become bloated. We call upon the Federal government to transfer social and local issues to the provincial governments who ought to be mandated to re-distribute 50 to 60% of their resources, according to population to the districts. Each district should have a board of elected members to run programmes of poverty alleviation as a prelude to district government.

The Universities and Hospitals on Federal government grants must be directed to come up with self-sufficiency plans while maintaining a safety net for the poor and the children of the poor. The Universities, Hospitals and institutions must be allowed to keep the money they charge as fees and not send it to the Center.

The Supreme Court and High Courts must be allowed to keep court fees so that they can provide justice freely and expeditiously.

The proceeds of General Sales Tax must go to the provinces as originally envisioned in the Constitution. A percentage may be donated by the provinces to the Center earmarked for Baluchistan, Northern Areas, FATA and Azad Kashmir.

Debt incurred on different provinces must be assumed by those provinces for repayment. We cannot expect Baluchistan to bear the cost of the extravagant Motorway.

We cannot expect people of one area to subsidize the electricity charges of other area.

The fall in oil prices should be passed on to Wapda and the Thermal Power Plants. This will make Wapda solvent and reduce the charges of electricity.

Each Area Board should have a different rate of electricity charges based on cost of production. This will lead to greater efficiency and better rates for better customers who pay their bills. Wapda's old thermal plants are oil guzzlers

producing expensive electricity. These should be shut down and cheaper power obtained from the private power projects.

Our Country is calling out for drastic Reforms. The old ways will not do. This regime has squandered the massive engineered majority given to it by President Farooq Leghari in a deal brokered by Governor of the Punjab. It has miserably failed to chart out a course of self-reliance and reform. Women's seats have not been restored. Minorities have not been given joint electorate. Blasphemy Law has not been amended.

The projects pertaining to Water logging and salinity have been abandoned which has slowed down growth. Growth figures are constantly adjusted. Last years (for 96-97), We were told growth rate was 3.1%. This has now been revised to 1.1%. This year and next years growth target will be re-adjusted too, as there is simply no growth, except in the population sector.

It is incorrect to state that industry has grown by 6%. Ironically, only good crops in the agriculture sector helped industries dealing with primary commodities. For example sugar due to a good sugar cane crop and jute bags due to a good rice crop.

However, steel, fertilizer, chemicals all went down exposing the so-called growth rate of 6% as a fraud. Investment has gone down too as admitted by the finance minister. Only the ICI, Engro and other projects of PPP, including power sector, continue towards completion. Otherwise the regime has returned with IOUs and not MOUs, despite an expenditure of nearly rupees one billion on the Prime Minister's fruitless and barren travels.

Cement production, steel production and import of machinery has all gone down exposing a stagnant economy.

Debt servicing is likely to hit Rs 300 billion as compared to the figure of Rs 276 billion reflected in the Budget.

Prosperous public sector corporations have lost Rs 50 billion during the current year.

External loans of Rs 142 billion promised by the Budget are going to be impossible to raise.

The provinces are starved for funds having received Rs. 19 billion less than promised last year in the federal Budget as their share. Next year looks no more promising.

To dupe the IMF, Rs. 9 billion excess tax has been collected from Habib Bank and National Bank. The Chairman FPCCI has claimed that Rs 15 billion of refunds etc have been withheld by the CBR presumably to doctor figures.

The regime has decided to buy dollars at 9% premium by announcing that any Pakistani remitting \$100,000 legally will receive relief of Rs 4 lacs . This will further erode the value of the rupee.

The Stock exchange whose main aim is to mobilize capital has crashed. In the PPP days. There would be 10-15 new issues annually. The Bad - Kismet Nawaz era has produce only one issue in the Karachi Stock Exchange in the last one year.

Poverty alleviation programs have been badly affected. The public sector programme is meant for the down trodden segment of the society and the backward area of Pakistan. The expenditure on PSDP i.e. poverty alleviation has gone down from 5% of GDP to 3% GDP.

Dark omens indeed for the dark days ushered in by a dark regime.

Tax revenues have fallen drastically from 14.1% to 11.5% of GDP.

Non bank borrowings broke all record coming to Rs. 69 billion thus ballooning the internal debt.

We reject the claim that inflation has fallen to 8%. With a massive increase in price of lentils and a 30% increase in price of wheat, inflation has climbed to new heights.

The deficit has risen to nearly 7% if not more. The rupee has been devalued by 10% with more to come in the following months.

Exports have increased by a miserable 5% and that too, due to agriculture and good weather.

Bank default and bad debt has risen from Rs. 121 billion to Rs. 150 billion despite giving bank managers discretion to write off the bad loans of the Ittefaq family and friends.

Privatization has come to a grinding halt. Share prices of public sector corporations have fallen drastically. PIA does not have money to pay salaries.

Share price of PSO has fallen from nearly Rs. 500 to a paltry Rs. 75. Sui Gas and OGDC are bankrupt.

Debt repayment has increased tremendously as the figures below show:

95-96 \$22.275 billion

96-97 \$25.00 billion

97-98 \$25.00 billion

- Yet not a single measure for austerity
- Not a single measure for self reliance
- Not a single measure for poverty alleviation
- Not a single measure for debt reduction

Contrary to breaking the begging bowl, the Nawaz regime has expanded the begging bowls that go around. We beg from friendly countries, from overseas Pakistani in Manchester, Birmingham and else where. We beg even from our school children who can not afford a glass of milk a day.

Sir,

It gives me no pleasure to throw back at the finance minister his pious promises of one year ago. The treasury benches have failed to :

- ensure a society free from provincialism
- improve the lives of common man
- reduce dependence on others;
- generate health, education and employment facilities,
- modernize our industrial sector;
- create stability and confidence;
- promote growth;
- eradicate corruption and mismanagement;
- build forex reserves;
- allow stock exchanges index to increase;
- encourage foreign investment;
- increase revenues;
- control government expenditure;
- take stern action against defaulters;
- ensure better law and order;
- expand exports to 15%;
- create job opportunities;
- provide green tractors and green tube-wells;

- reduce tax rates;
- drop custom duty to 45%;

Never before in the history of Pakistan has so much damage been done to the national economy in such a short time.

The PPP had:

Given the country the lowest deficit – 5%,

Reduced debt for first time in Nation's history by repaying principal amount through privatization proceeds;

Brought in massive, unprecedented foreign investment creating jobs and a new private sector class;

Tripled growth rate from 2% to 6%;

Invested heavily in human resource development.

It is all very well to shed crocodile tears but sacrifices, like charity, begins at home. May I ask how much income tax the Prime Minister paid during 1997-98? Or his cronies? His Cabinet?

Instead the government pounced upon the unsuspecting middle class holders of foreign exchange deposit. Freezing eleven billion dollars was a criminal breach of trust, which amounted to confiscation of property. Earlier the Nawaz regime had subjugated the economy to its partisan political purposes by scandalizing the Independent Power Producers (IPP's) asking them to admit paying bribes or else face contract cancellations. And when the Nawaz regime sought to enter the Energy market, the staff of Hubco, one of the leading shares on the Karachi Stock Exchange were arrested so that share prices should fall and be picked up by the economic vultures in the regime. The crash of the Hubco shares led to a slump in the Karachi Stock Exchange, which crashed below the 1000 index.

What a fine way, to drive away foreign investors and destroy one's own economy.

There is more to come. The annual Japanese assistance of about 500 million dollars the World Bank assistance of 750 million dollars and the remaining tranches of 1.6 billion dollars committed by IMF will dry up.

Public confidence in the regime is so low that I demand on behalf of the people that the detail of the remittances of \$ 500 million made by the cronies of Mian Nawaz Sharif be published. Let the people of Pakistan know the names of the rats which jumped the ship before the State Bank freezing order.

The unkindest cut of all has been the day light robbery of the fundamental rights of the citizens. There is no constitutional nexus between the provisions of article 232 and the proclamation of emergency. In one nuclear strike the peasants and workers, the intellectuals and businessman, the minority and women have been deprived of their inalienable right to life, liberty, property, freedom of expression, association and all the rights associated with a civilized democracy. The power of Supreme Court of Pakistan for the enforcement of fundamental rights under article 184 has been curtailed. The power of the High Courts under article 199 for the enforcement of the fundamental rights enshrined under article 8 to 28 of the constitution suspended. In short we are living in a police state under civilian martial law.

A state where the regime is involved in a criminal conspiracy against its own people.

Where the cream of the political clan has been branded in one sweep of the pen as drug suspects.

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

I had warned last year that there are hard times ahead. Only a national government can deliver the goods. It is quite evident from the track record of this myopic, selfish, brutish and vindictive regime that it has neither the will nor the vision to respond to the challenge that lies ahead. At a time like this when England was in the grip of economic recession, the only way out was the formation of a national government in 1931.

Let us remember that a nuclear power has greater responsibilities. Having achieved nuclear parity with India, let us now free ourselves of the Indian Chain. For 50 years we have remained chained to what India did. For 50 years, our only goal was to react to India. Nuclear parity frees us from such ties.

We should begin negotiations to sign the CTBT. Let us take the initiative, let us act and not just react if we are to overcome the danger that face us.

Now that aid has dried up. We can no longer afford the old lifestyle. People are angry because hospitals do not have medicines, schools do not have books, streets are broken and water is not available.

We tell the people that this is due to the extravagant lifestyle of the Rulers. Or that it is due to corrupt politicians and bureaucrats. We don't tell them aid has stopped.

We should have the courage to say:

That we borrowed too much in 50 years believing there was no tomorrow.

That we produce too many people and have one of the highest population rates in the world.

That three wars over Kashmir have forced us to spend significant amounts on defence.

Whatever Pakistan earns, it goes on debt and defence. There is nothing left.

As long as we borrow for Motorways and refuse to spend on water logging and salinity, on Health, Education and Population, we cannot prosper.

Nuclear parity has forced issues into the open. Either we have the vision and maturity to deal with these issues or else a sea of people seething with hate will erupt in our country sooner than later.

And this House bears the Responsibility for what will happen.

Annexures

ANNEX - I 'PR not to yield to Ittefaq's blackmail'

"The DAWN",
Karachi, 22-7-1989

Lahore: July 21: A spokesman for Pakistan Railways, commenting on the transportation of Messrs Ittefaq Foundries' steel scrap from Karachi to Lahore; disclosed here on Friday morning that Pakistan Railways has a capacity of running an average of 12 goods trains from Karachi to other parts of the country every day.

The PR, he said, was bound to give priority to essential commodities and perishables for the national good.

The spokesman, giving the break-up said four trains of imported wheat, five of kerosene, furnace, diesel oil, petrol and edible (vegetable) oil, one train of cement from Hyderabad, one of other miscellaneous essential items and one of bonded containers for Lahore Dry Port were running from Karachi every day.

He said railways were providing one train daily for the transportation of imported phosphate fertilizer by withdrawing it from one of the above stated break-up because the fertilizer is essentially required for the sowing/planting of the Kharif crops. Delay in transportation of fertilizer would badly affect the small farmers who can not afford to store it.

He further said that railways had to give top priority to the movement of imported wheat from Karachi Port before the setting in of the monsoon because the wheat would be badly damaged if moved in the season, causing huge losses to the national exchequer.

He said that previously railways was bound to transport Ittefaq's scrap because it was bonded cargo and used to be customs-cleared at Ittefaq's own premises which was declared a "bonded ware-house" as a part of Lahore Dry Port, a privilege not extended to any other importer. Now, however, the customs producers of the scarp imported by Ittefaq have to be completed in Karachi like all the other importers. Railways, this have no obligation to transport Ittefaq's scarp and they could use other modes of transport like every body else.

The spokesman said that railways had to bear a loss of approximately Rs. 200,000 per train (of about 60 wagons) for the transportation of Ittefaq's scrap because of the special concessional fare allowed to them.

He said that railways was national service and no one company or group had any right to use it for their personal gain.

Concluding, he said that the present pressure tactics of the Ittefaq management amounted to blackmail and a threat to security. Trying to block the railway track was subversion in law and the railway would deal with it according to Law. There was no question of submitting to blackmail, he added, - PPI

ANNEX-II Cotecna denies violating any law

DAWN
June 11, 1998

Islamabad, June 10: Cotecna Inspection S.A denied that any of its employees had violated any law of Pakistan.

"We wish to categorically state that no company employee has ever, directly or indirectly, committed any action which does not scrupulously respect national and international laws, as well as recognized practice in international trade and industry", it further stated.

According to a Press release faxed to Dawn by Cotecna from Geneva here, it said events that had occurred during these last days concerning the case of Cotecna inspection S.A., needed clarification.

"Our company, Cotecna Inspection S.A., has recently been implicated in proceedings initiated in Switzerland upon the request of the Pakistani Government. In this context, the management of Cotecna Inspection S.A. has seen itself blamed for deeds linked to the legitimate payment of commissions to its agent. our company deplores being the victim today of Pakistan's internal political rivalries, which overflow onto the international scene", it said.

In Sept. 1994 Cotecna Inspection S.A., the clarification said, was awarded a five year contract for the assessment of customs values of Pakistan's imports.

"This contract was unilaterally and illegally terminated after two years when the new government took over".

Those two years of operation brought to light uncollected customs dues identified by ourselves in the course of our mandate and amounting to over 650 million dollars", the Press release said. It added that this result had been audited and confirmed by international auditors, Price Waterhouse.

"To the best of our knowledge, the new Pakistani government has, to date, taken no measure whatsoever to correct this apparent fraud", it claimed.

Cotecna Inspection S.A said it confirmed its determination to vigorously defend its interests and maintain its commercial policy, which fully respects all ethical

Lahore High Court Bar Association
Address of Leader of the Opposition, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto
June 30, 1998

Honourable office bearers, members of the Lahore High Court Bar Association,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am privileged to meet with the distinguished members of this noble profession. My own rendezvous with law and the judicial institutions has been extraordinary. It has truly been a momentous encounter: though not always gratifying yet never devoid of emotion.

Today as I stand here among you, I see our nation besieged by colossal challenges. Yet the lack of vision of those who today hold the reigns of power in the name of the people has paralysed our ability to respond to the task we as a nation are confronted with.

Just as Pakistan was first a dream of our great visionary Allama Iqbal, so nuclear power was the dream of another great visionary leader Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed. He had promised the people of Pakistan that we shall never compromise on our sovereignty and dignity regardless of the price and the consequences. He stood by his promise and sacrificed his life to see it become a reality. However, the present rulers have been unable to contribute to our national solidarity.

At a time when we have achieved nuclear parity we are facing one of the gravest threats to our security.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that we are in a position comparable to the former Soviet Union in its last days. At that time the Soviet Union was a military colossus. But it was an economic pygmy. It imploded from within. We must move fast to save our nation from the threat from within and without. We must move fast to save our Nation from the threat within, and without.

Today we are a nuclear power but we are facing an internally chaotic situation. The announcement of the Kalabagh Dam has pitted three provinces against one.

Today we are proud of being a nuclear power. However, the rest of the world sees us as a nuclear threat.

At such a time when we are internationally isolated, politically divided and economically weak, we are continuing on a course of destruction charted by the unrepresentative Captain of the ship. Like a pirate bent on preserving his ill gotten treasure, he has taken our ship of state into stormy waters.

Ever since Mr. Nawaz Sharif entered into a conspiratorial pact with former President Leghari, brokered by Governor Punjab, Pakistan has slid into a state of anarchy and chaos. The writ of the State and its institutions has withered.

A sequence of events since the dismissal of the PPP government on November 4, 1996 has shaken the very foundations of our existence as a pluralistic, modern democracy with a new generation of private sector entrepreneurs.

We have had the brother of a Prime Minister murdered as a prelude to the destabilisation of a government elected in a fair, free and impartial elections conducted by a neutral caretaker.

We have had elections engineered under an anti-PPP government where a President and Prime Minister from Lahore ensured the so-called election on yet another Prime Minister from Lahore. That too only to re-elect yet another President from Lahore striking at the roots of federal representation.

We today have:

- (a) A President who committed contempt of Court. He called judges “terrorists” and never apologised for it;
- (b) A Chief Accountability Commissioner who was made sub-ordinate to a defaulter Senator sitting in the Secretariat of a defaulter Prime Minister;
- (c) A Chief Election Commissioner sacked for rejecting the papers of the ruling parties nominee to the presidency;
- (d) A Chief Justice of the Supreme Court unseated by his own peers;
- (e) A Supreme Court ransacked by a mob led by Cabinet members filmed by the international media;
- (f) Judges who fled the chambers as mobs entered to attack them.
- (g) Judges sacked from the High Court of Punjab and Sindh;
- (h) Judges appointed in a controversial manner forcing the Bar to protest;
- (i) A Leader of the Opposition whose entire legitimate assets have been frozen without bothering to prove a single illegitimate act by her in a court of law.
- (j) Rs: 2 billion allocated in 2 years to the Ministry of Information to conduct a media war against her which is twice the amount spent on the entire government, namely Senate, National Assembly, Supreme Court of Pakistan, President’s Secretariat, Prime Minister’s Secretariat.

(k) \$ 18 million of state funds spent through secret service funds in a criminal conspiracy to concoct cases, eliminate opposition and impose fascism;

(l) Senators are not given oaths, medical treatment, open trial or unfettered defence;

(m) Senators are beaten by police and have heads broken requiring intensive care treatment;

(n) Women activists are assaulted by male police;

(o) Midnight raids and use of torture have become the order of the day as Businessmen, Bankers, Police officers and bureaucrats are hauled up to purge the institutions on one pretext or another; wives and daughters are not spared;

(p) Senior journalists are woken at night to find themselves surrounded by armed men.

(q) Gunny bag turn up daily with pieces of humans flesh. Sometimes a torso, sometimes a head;

(r) Terrorists are freed from jail and paid Rs: 20 crores of state money in compensation.

(s) Foreign currency accounts with constitutional guarantees are plundered to fill the rapacious appetite of the rulers to misgovern, squander and ruin.

(t) Foreign Investors are told that if they admit being crooks who gave bribes their contracts will be safe. If they are honest and say they did nothing wrong, their contracts will be cancelled;

(u) Britishers working at Hubco are arrested so that share prices fall and the Rulers buy them cheaply;

(v) Seven sugar mills in Sindh are closed without trial in a court as part of parochial persecution rendering 70,000 people unemployed and forcing them into default;

(w) A monveau riche palace is built at Raiwand after grabbing 1700 acres and spending 6 billion rupees of public money by a man who is so poor he paid Rs: 477/= as Income Tax;

(x) The Royal Yacht Britannia is bought after taking Rs: 18 crores from MCB, stripped of royal furnishing three containers full for the Royal masters and then scrapped on the beaches of Karachi for the Royal factories;

(y) After the masses are exhorted to have half a cup of tea and one spoon of ghee, the wife, the brothers, the children alongwith assorted retainers and sycophants go off at state expense with the Prime Minister to perform Umra and visit UAE and Saudi Arabia;

(z) While the people are asked to make sacrifice, \$ 500 million are sent abroad with banks open after hours and brothers of Senators sent to Banks to convert rupees taken from I.B. into dollars for the Rulers. The FIA Director General who catches them with their fingers in the cookie jar is thrown out;

I have run out of the letters of the alphabet in describing the present state of affairs. And this is just the tip of the Ice berg. I have not given gone into the declaration of Emergency or criminal collussions with drug barons or the lies told by the Attorney General of Pakistan to foreign governments including that of Great Britain and Switzerland. I shall be exposing his misrepresentation of facts to the superior judiciary shortly.

The fascists of today in true Goebbels style of propaganda aimed at dismantling democracy in Pakistan, have run out of lies. Their claim that the popularity elected leaders of Pakistan stole \$ 3 billion dollars is as false as their claims that Senator Zardari colluded with Presidents and Prime Minister to smuggle drugs.

To actually declare to a foreign Government that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Prime Minister Moeen Qureshi, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, First Lady Begum Nusrat Bhutto, General Tirmizi, Air Chief Khattak, Navy Chief Mansoor, Senators, Chief Justice etc are highly suspected of narcotics activity with Senator Zardari is not only unjust. It is morally and legally wrong. It is treasonous behaviour by a regime which has subordinated the national interest of Pakistan to its narrow, selfish, partisan aims.

None of these tragic sequence of events which have eroded the internal environment, undermined the rule of law, disgraced democracy, wreaked economic havoc have any nexus with the nuclear blast. They are a result of the

shortsighted, savage, brutal, myopic policies of morally bankrupt minds and souls, individuals who are the political product of a military dictator who hanged a Prime Minister, lashed intellectuals and workers and shot at crowds of people staining the land with the blood of innocents.

In such hands, Pakistan's future lies at a critical time in our history. At a time when the very existence of Pakistan is at stake.

Every patriotic Pakistani will consider it our foremost duty to rid ourselves of a regime born in the darkness of a palace intrigue. An intrigue played out before an empty theatre. Let us not forget that over 80% of the people of Pakistan boycotted the so-called election drama in February, 1997.

Pakistan's friends in the international community are at a loss to understand why Pakistan went nuclear. We gave no coherent explanation. We never said, clearly and unequivocally, that India had threatened our security with its blast and forced our hand. Instead we vacillated. We gave every impression, signal and message that the Indian blast did not force our hand.

We should have said, after the Indian blast that our security was at stake. We did not do so. What did we do.

We told foreign leaders in daily phone calls broadcast all over the world that we were "thinking" what to do. In other words, we were not sure what to do. We were not sure, whether a counter blast was essential or not. We were not sure whether India had forced our hand or not. This paralysis of leadership cost Pakistan dearly.

The diverse subsequent explanations fed into western fears. A lady may be entitled to change her mind, but not a state. Unfortunately, this is just what a confused Nawaz and company did. We went nuclear because;

- (a) India was about to attack Azad Kashmir;
- (b) Israel was about to attack Kahuta;
- (c) The West gave us lollipops and chewing gum;
- (d) Nawaz to Clinton in Newsweek: "I know its wrong, Sir, but I'll lose my Chair".

And that is what the world is asking us: If your Prime Minister said it was wrong, why did you do it?

Ladies and Gentleman,

The entire world know that Pakistan had nuclear capability. The entire world expected Pakistan to immediately detonate following the Indian blast because of security reasons.

But given the diverse explanations, we, the Pakistani Nation, have a right to ask, "Why did Pakistan detonate?" Did we do it out of security or did we do it because Nawaz Sharif would otherwise lose his chair. I and every other Pakistani are prepared to sacrifice our last drop of blood for our Nation's security and survival.

We, however, are not prepared to take actions simply to save power for Nawaz Sharif.

I demand an explanation from Nawaz Sharif. We, the Nation, should hear the tape recording of his conversation with President Clinton. We want to know why Nawaz Sharif told President Clinton as per News Week that he knew that detonating was wrong but he had to do it to keep his job. We, as a Nation, demand to know; did we go nuclear to save Nawaz's chair.

OR

Did we go nuclear to save Pakistan?

We, as a Nation, are being deceived by rogue rulers bent upon self-preservation at the cost of national unity.

The Finance Minister, in his Budget speech, did not prepare the Nation for any sacrifices or towards any goal or horizon. We were told it was Business as usual. No more new taxes. Inflation down. Growth up. No mention of the Realities.

The regime acted as if there had been no nuclear blast, no seizure of foreign currency accounts, no declaration of emergency, no sanctions. It was business as usual.

Sorry, Honourable Members,

As Leader of the Opposition I am constrained to point out that it is not business as usual; in six months time, sanctions will hurt. But even before the effect of Western sanctions takes place, we have put sanctions on our-selves. Our mis-governance, our subordination of national interests to an agenda of political persecution, has bankrupted our economy. One forex reserves are down, our stock exchange have collapsed, our growth has slowed, our tax revenues have

fallen, our debt has burgeoned. Our banks are riddled with defaulted loans and the value of our rupee has eroded.

The Post-Cold war period had already plunged our economy into disarray. For decades our style of living was subsidized by the west. Free military equipment. Free wheat. Assistance of all kind for us to face the strategic realities of communism. The Bipolar World has now ended with a new dawn.

The age of free meals donated by Super-Powers is over. We now have to pay for our own military hardware and our wheat etc. That means we have to tax where we did not need to tax yesterday. That means we need to cut our cloth according to our size. This we are not somehow prepared to do.

I am dismayed by the false promises of false prophets who would make their political fortunes out of feeding false illusions to our people of easy solutions.

These false prophets promise a better tomorrow with either an Islamic Revolution or by eradicating "corruption". Neither of these apparently noble aspirations can fill the gaping hole in our budget caused by the end of \$ 4.2 billion dollars of aid.

Housewives are seduced into believing that the price of electricity, telephone, food will come down if we "change the system" or find so-called "honest" rulers.. Nothing could be further than the truth. The fact is that the \$ 4.2. billion dollars has gone from our kitty. That is why each citizen is burdened with increasing cost of living.

The fact is that we spend more than our national income. The fact is that our national income goes on debt and defence. There is nothing left to feed, house or keep a population that grows at an astronomical 2.6% every year.

There are no easy choices. But whatever we choose, we choose for ourselves. Our destiny is in our own hands. We shape our own futures. The time has come when we realise what we earn, where we spend and stop complaining.

It is time for us to realise that the world of trade has replaced the world of aid. This is a world which allows the free flow of currency, goods and ideas. This is a world where there is no place of growth for those who would roll back the frontiers of the free market economy.

Instead of crippling the free Market State the regime should have de-dollarised the economy by bringing dollar accounts into the taxable net.

The regime should not have increased the deficit by borrowing for white elephant projects such as the motorway.

Or cut the programme for the Lady Health Visitor programme aimed at bringing down the infant mortality and population growth rate;

Or promoted the devaluation of the rupee by borrowing at 9% premium while simultaneously expanding the money supply through forcible conversion of dollars into rupees.

Or hit the traders at a time of recession;

Or gobbled up the benefit from the fall of oil prices instead of passing it on to the consumer;

Or left the poor, the unemployed and the wretched at their own mercy without a safety net of a roof or a piece of bread;

My concern is for our people. I did not enter politics to profit for myself. I entered politics to build a stable, peaceful, progressive, just and free Pakistan. For that I have paid a heavy price, as has my family and my Party, for two decades.

But we have never wavered in our commitment to the social emancipation economic prosperity in a free environment with liberal values for our people and our country.

We are poised to enter a borderless century. A century which recognises no boundaries, horizontally or vertically. It is time we gave up the old cliches, which characterised the Old World. It is time we moved on. To a new age, a new era, a new millenium.

A new generation has been born. A generation whose outlook has been shaped by global trends and influenced by the revolution brought by the global information breakthroughs. Let us keep pace with this generation. This is a generation, which demands merit, efficiency and transparency. A generation ready to compete with the rest of the world. A generation rejecting paternalistic form of government. A generation demanding equal participation in decision-making.

We, in the PPP, believe the time has come for radical reform to restructure the pattern of governance.

We are calling for decentralisation and devolution. We are calling for the Federal Government to devolve social issues to the provinces. And for the provinces to devolve resources and local issues to the districts.

And we are stating that, having achieved nuclear parity, our foreign policy needs a fresh direction. The nuclear blasts were the ultimate "tit for tat". The time has now come for Pakistan to initiate an independent policy with regard to proliferation and arms control issues free from the shadow of India. It is time for us to realise that Nations rise and fall not only on the basis of military might but also on the basis of the size, growth, productivity, wealth and potential of their markets.

In this new post-nuclear blast situation, we need to review our fifty years foreign policy towards India.

We must not compromise on the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. But we must look at other nations in Asia. Who have disputes. And yet, despite maintaining their respective positions on the disputes, have learnt to live with each other.

I, as a woman and a mother want to bequeath to my children and to your children and to all our children a future free of the threat of a nuclear holocaust. And if that means opening negotiations with India bilaterally whilst simultaneously seeking multilateral efforts through the P-5/OIC and other forums, so be it. A nuclear war is too horrific a consequence to tie to the altar of rigidity, bigotry and fanaticism.

Our people fought for independence. And won. Our people fought military dictatorship. And won. Our people are our hope and our future. Our progress, our strength, our stability lies in trusting our people. On that promise alone can we succeed. And to that promise, we pledge our support.

An Agenda for National Survival
by Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto
August 28, 1998

It is a matter of great concern that the Nawaz Administration has opened a third-front against Pakistan. By putting all its eggs in one basket in Afghanistan, it has annoyed our brotherly neighbor Iran and the Central Asian republics. Due to the Nawaz regime's muddle-headedness and mishandling, the threat to national security has increased three-fold: One, from India on Kashmir; two, from US-led G-8 on non-proliferation and terrorism; and three, from Russia, Iran and Central Asia who are concerned about Pakistan's backing for Taliban.

Given the objective economic and strategic constraints, Pakistan should have confined itself to its historical front, i.e., Kashmir and India. But, as if international isolation and economic sanctions were not enough, the rulers have continued to expand hostile fronts against Pakistan which we can least afford, especially at this critical hour of economic collapse.

In the last 18 months the government has proved that it is clueless about running a foreign policy aimed at achieving national objectives or keeping national security in the right direction and proportionate to economic sustainability. Pakistan was established and recognized as a bridge between the democratic West and the Muslim East, since it followed a moderate policy of a democratic modern Muslim state, committed to the emancipation and development of the Muslim world and looking towards 21st century as a global trading partner under the PPP governments. Now, thanks to the Nawaz regime's blunders and reckless approach, Pakistan has lost all friends from Iran to Central Asia and its traditional allies in the West which sympathized with our principled position on the occupied state of Jammu and Kashmir, failing to persuade Taliban into forming a broad-based government as a lasting solution to the civil war while involving the international community to share the burden of reconstruction.

The dangerous fall out is now wide open. If the efforts at turning Pakistan into a warrior state ideologically attuned to an extremist creed of political war or jihad against the whole world are not reversed then there is a great danger of Pakistan being declared a rogue state accused of sponsoring terrorism.

Islam poses no threat to the West. It is a faith of peace. Our God is the God of all worlds (Rabul-il-Aalamin) and our Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) is the fountain of benevolence for all, not just Muslims (Rehmatul-il- Aalmin). Those who profess barbaric version of Islam, indulge in terrorism, kill innocent, segregate women, brutalize people and spread sectarianism do not represent Islam, but a tiny extremist minority.

While violating international laws and sovereign territories, the US has actually strengthened the isolated extremist groups in the Muslim world. There are perceived causes for resentment among the Muslim masses against the West for having followed double-standards in dealing with the problems faced by the Muslim world, such as the Palestinian issue, the delay in seeking an end to the civil war in Bosnia, the inability to resolve the Kashmir dispute despite security Council resolutions. But the struggle for a just world order can't be promoted by acts of terrorism such as those committed against the civilian targets, the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania being the latest example. The US retaliation against a pharmaceutical target in Sudan and now cruise missile attack on

Afghanistan while violating Pakistan's sovereignty, has inadvertently served the purpose of supposed terrorists. Both terrorism committed by alleged terrorists and the cruise missile attack on two sovereign nations are violative of democratic and human norms and international law.

We are left with no choice but to abandon the role of a warrior state engaged in adventurist course of a holy war against innumerable targets. The time has come for the review of what national security means within the given economic parameters and international constraints. It seems that the Nawaz regime has made it its sole mission to get Pakistan totally isolated while helping India to form a broadest united front against Pakistan. Nawaz has pushed Pakistan into a very dangerous situation in which our trusted allies such as Iran, are being pushed to align against Pakistan. It is in the interest of Pakistan to keep one front to find an amicable solution to the Kashmir dispute while strictly avoiding to annoy allies and the international community. The Pakistan Peoples Party appeals to Taliban to respect international law and human rights and ask both the government of Pakistan and Taliban administration to cooperate in getting Iranian diplomats immediately released. It reiterates its support for a broad-based government by including all ethnic and religious minorities on the basis of consensus.

The UN must be allowed to play a mediating role in finding a lasting solution. Pakistan is faced with an unprecedented crisis of survival which now threatens its independence and sovereignty. What is quite exceptional about the current crisis is that it is a total crisis of economy, institutions, federal structure, governance, state and society when, thanks to a regime of consistent blunders, nodal points of all dimensions have concurred at one point of time. The crisis can be summed up as follow:

a) The imperatives of a fragile dependent economy have come into an irreconcilable conflict with an over-extended national security state. The economy has finally refused to take this burden. A heavy super structure of the state neither evaluated nor acted in consonance with the imperatives of dependent economy and aspirations of its hapless people. The burden of quite ambitious and bigger than Pakistan's size security missions have exhausted the fundamentals of the economy.

b) By defying metropolitan powers and cosmopolitan finance capital (by squeezing the IPPs) simultaneously, the Nawaz Sharif government has actually exposed the imperatives of a peripheral economy. The precarious bases of this social formation have been devastated by defaulting on \$ 11 billion worth FCAs, keeping an overvalued rupee, eroding the exchange rate by keeping three exchange rates, maintaining high interest rates,

refusing LCs for imports without 50 percent hard cash, squeezing out savings, creating the conditions for an imminent default on external account and total erosion of confidence of the domestic market in the regime.

c) A four-D trap of debt, devaluation, deficit and demography, has brought the doom closer, leaving little space and time for survival.

d) While facing a real threat to its security from India, the regime continues to react to India and has isolated Pakistan amongst the international community.

e) The structural crisis has continued to exacerbate beyond redemption and now all institutions are in disarray, than to a personalized absolutist rule imposed by Mr. Nawaz Sharif in his self image of Raiwind fief.

f) The crisis of governance has continued to intensify at hands of a distorted democracy, degenerated bureaucracy, an institutionalized system of corruption, qabza groups, varied types of Mafia, tax-evaders, defaulters, manipulation of all last five elections, arbitrary dismissals of popular governments and, most importantly, parasitic huge structures of a big government.

g) Due to Raiwind based fraudulent heavy mandate and all federal powers/offices grabbed by a small coterie of plunderers and usurpers, the very existence of the federation has been shaken. Unfortunate imposition of the will of a small qabza group from one area on all other provinces, by imposition of emergency and arbitrary announcement to build Kalabagh Dam against the wishes of the other three provinces, have threatened both the unity of federation and solidarity among the people of big and smaller provinces, who actually suffer equally. A strong-centre can no more impose a kind of internal tyranny under whose suffocation the people of all federating units suffer.

h) The regime has exhausted all safety valves, missed all opportunities and floundered at all escape routes. It has become a big problem itself. With each passing day the crisis is becoming more and more unmanageable. The more the Raiwind regime remains in power, the greater the danger to the national existence. It can, at best, mess up a bleak situation, as it has already, and, at worst, leave nothing to fall back upon.

The present crisis is just not a simple government crisis. In so many ways, it is much more dangerous than the 1971 crisis. The state seems to have paralyzed

since its pivotal institutions can't think above their narrow self-interest. Similarly, a marginalised civil society and an undermined democratic opposition have been so much besieged that they cannot bail out the nation from its enigma in the given situation.

The time has been wasted and the state as it is, on objective parameters, has more or less failed. Yet quite difficult choices are to be made since they can't be postponed. It is a Catch-22 situation. But the transcending self-interests and showing greater understanding of history, one can still make a choice to survive as a people and defend our beloved motherland.

The options between the stark choices are:

- 1). Between the demands of a sustainable economy and a national security state living beyond its means. The revival of a sustainable economy will have to be preferred over the extended national security mission. Without an economic base and investing on your people, no security is viable, despite atomic bombs.
- 2). Between the non-proliferation and disarmament intimately linked to the financial solvency and a destabilizing proliferation course attached to other ambitious security agendas, Pakistan must take lead on India by agreeing to sign the CTBT while negotiating a quid pro quo to get off the sanctions and isolation.
- 3). Between a small, efficient and good government and a huge, inefficient and unresponsive bureaucratic state. If the potential of civil society is to be fully realized and the energies of the masses are to be unleashed, the government must be reduced and power transferred to local councils.
- 4). Between devolution of power to the grassroots level and centralized autocratic structures. Given the diversity and disparity of our people and regions, a radical devolution and decentralization will have to be undertaken to make people really sovereign and ensure and equal participation of all the regions of Pakistan.
- 5). Between a pluralist popular participation and a closed-door elitist club of misrepresentation. The system of representation will have to be restructured to allow peoples' participation at every level and without discrimination on the basis of creed, region, gender, class and caste.
- 6). Between all-sided structural reforms and fossilized institutions. All sided structural reforms, including public sector corporations, civil

service, judicial system, banking and corporate sector, social services and above all the reforms to develop human resources while eradicating poverty will have to be undertaken to avoid a total breakdown and receive the dynamism of an enterprising system.

If we take these decisions and in time, a vibrant Pakistan can still emerge out of the ashes of a moribund state. Any formula for the resolution of the governmental crisis must first address the above mentioned issues, and this can be done by the cooperation of all segments of society, federating units and all institutions of the state and by rising above pectoral, fictional, regional and institutional interests, The popular federalist PPP is ready to play its role to save the motherland, empower the people, build an equal and dynamic federation and enter 21st century as a progressive, democratic modern Muslim state.

The Royal Institute of International Affairs
London, England
by Ms Benazir Bhutto - September 10th, 1998

Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is a great pleasure for me to be with you in London today.

As you may be aware, my family and I, and the leadership of the Pakistan Peoples Party are all under heavy assault from the current regime in Pakistan. This is a complex conspiracy to defame not only us, but the very concept of democracy in my besieged homeland. So lest you in the West think that the fight against fascism and totalitarianism lies in the past, remember what is going on in Pakistan, in Burma and in other parts of the world where the fight for freedom is not yet won.

This is consistent with the main point I would like to make to you today in our discussion of the Afghan situation in the context of big and small state relations. For the people of Britain and the United States and all of the West, the Cold War ended with the crumbling of the Berlin Wall. For countries of the developing world that were instruments and surrogates of the East and the West for forty years -- and especially for my own country of Pakistan -- we are still living with the profound and tragic consequences of the superpower confrontation.

When the West correctly and bravely determined in the late forties to confront and contain communism's expansion, morality took on a bipolar configuration. Whether it was the Marshall plan to economically rebuild Europe, or the creation of the NATO alliance to contain the Soviet Union, the world became a contest

between “us” and “them.” And the West strategically calculated, that any nations who would stand with the west against communism would be treated as friends and allies.

Political systems became irrelevant. Due process became irrelevant. Human rights became irrelevant. Democracy became irrelevant. The enemy of my enemy became my friend.

The Greek junta. The Marcos dictatorship. The generals in Argentina. The Zia-ul-Haq bloodbath against democracy in Pakistan. The enemies of my enemy became my friends. And the victims of our friends became irrelevant.

A democratically elected government in Pakistan was overthrown in a military coup. A democratically elected Prime Minister was murdered. A political party was decimated, tortured, sent into exile. The press was destroyed. Unions were banned. Student organizations were prohibited. The cause of women was sent back into another century. And the world was silent.

For in the polarity of the Cold War, the cooperation of the Pakistani dictator Zia-ul-Haq with the West’s effort to dislodge the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, was sufficient justification to disregard the political and social abuse, the human rights travesties, the suppression of democracy.

For a long and bloody decade, from 1979 through 1989, the West -- and was particularly the United States -- used Pakistan as a surrogate in its final confrontation with the Soviet Union. Billions of billions of covert aid was channeled through Pakistan to the Mujahadeen. The Pakistan/Afghan border became a porous fiction. My country became the staging area for the West’s final assault on the tottering Soviet empire.

My country, which was totally unfamiliar to the drug culture, became a nation of heroine addicts. My country, which had no tradition of lawlessness, was so overridden with weapons in every neighborhood, on every street, in almost every house, that a Kalishnikof mentality emerged and the rule of law disappeared. Our cities were overwhelmed with crime and violence, a situation that persists today.

Millions of Afghan refugees, driven from their country by the civil war in their country, took refuge in Pakistan and were housed, and educated, and provided with food and health care at extraordinary cost to Pakistani society. Almost two million of these refugees remain on Pakistani soil today.

The consequences of the West's strategic effort in Afghanistan transcended the impact on my own country. For the confrontation with the Soviets, and the support of the Mujahadeen itself became a symbol of the myopia of the Cold War.

When I visited the United States early in my first time as Prime Minister of Pakistan, in 1989, I vividly recall discussions with then President Bush about the political situation in Afghanistan. The United States had made a military decision to arm and strengthen the fiercest fighters in the Afghan resistance -- the forces of Gulbuddin Hakmatyar. I cautioned Mr. Bush that he was creating a veritable Frankenstein by aligning the United States with the most extremist of the Mujahadeen groups.

I cautioned the West that by strengthening the most extreme and fundamentalist of the resistance, it was weakening the political position of the rest of the resistance coalition. The pragmatists and the moderates were shunned aside by the United State's single minded efforts to strengthen the most extreme of the seven Majahadeen factions. And I cautioned that this element of the Mujahadeen was not only religiously fanatic, but viscerally anti-Western.

I warned that we must look beyond the inevitable military victory against the communist regime in Kabul, and work toward setting up a successor government that was broad-based and moderate. But because the United States chose not to opt for a political settlement involving all seven elements of the Mujahadeen, peace was not restored to Afghanistan. Indeed in the decade since the Soviets withdrew in 1989, the people of Afghanistan have not seen a single day of peace.

The extremists were so emboldened by the United States during the eighties are now exporting their terrorism to other parts of the world. To the extent that they use heroine trafficking to pay for their exploits, international terrorism and international drug trafficking intersect.

And as terrorism and drug trafficking pervade western society, the decision of the United States a generation ago has come full circle. For not only is stability in Afghanistan a victim, not only were the foundations and institutions of democracy in Pakistan destroyed in this process, but the recipients of the West's support and largesse have turned their venom against their benefactors. As I predicted nine years ago in Washington, a true Frankenstein has been created.

I think there is a long-term, strategic lesson for all of us in this sad and continuing by-product of the Cold War:

Whenever fundamental principles are sacrificed in the cause of expediency, danger follows.

Whenever a dictator is cuddled, all democrats, all over the world, are weakened.

Whenever human rights are abused, all of us become victims.

Whenever the West sacrifices the political values that have made western democracy a model to the developing world, the chance for democratic change in Asia and Africa is tragically diminished.

The principles of western democracy can never again be selectively applied, only when convenient, only in isolated cases.

If a putsch is not to be recognized in Moscow, neither should it be in Islamabad.

If fraudulent elections are not legitimized in Lagos, they should not be legitimized in Lahore.

If human rights violations are not tolerated in Serbia, they should neither be tolerated in Karachi.

If the lack of an independent judiciary is condemned by the west in Burma, the exploitation of the Courts to victimise the political opposition should not be tolerated in Pakistan.

We have all learned a long and painful lesson from the lingering consequences of the Cold War.

The selective application of morality is by its very nature immoral.

So ladies and gentlemen, as this conference ends and you return to your comfortable homes in this wonderful country at peace and prosperity, remember those all over the world that have paid a heavy price for the west's triumph against communism.

For you the Cold War is over.

For the drug addicts of Karachi, for the victims of lawlessness in Lahore, for the leaders of the Pakistan Peoples Party rotting in jails all throughout Pakistan -- for us, my friends -- the war continues.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

High Court Bar Association Sukkur
Address of Ms Benazir Bhutto
November 05, 1998

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Two years have passed since Pakistan Peoples Party duly elected Government was shabbily betrayed in a malafide act during the treacherous night of November 4, 1996. All three principle actors in that drama were in turn betrayed and were unceremoniously forced to make their exit from the corridors of power. In the process, the institutions of the State, the Presidency, the Supreme Court of Pakistan, and the High Command of the Armed Forces were attacked by the hand picked Prime Minister who has become a civilian dictator.

Thus, if you do not learn from history, it tends to repeat itself. The writing on the wall was there to see that the regime is driven by the lust for power and money and is willing to place all institutions at stake in the satiation of its greed.

The original excuse given for the destabilization of the Pakistan Peoples Party government was the state of the economy although this did not figure in the Dissolution Order. Any unbiased observer can judge that the economy was in much better shape during my tenure than it is today. In one of the biggest bank robberies perpetrated in history, this regime has robbed the eleven billion dollars deposited under the Protection of Foreign Investments Act passed by this Government in 1992. The value of the Rupee has declined by more than 30% and another 20% devaluation is around the corner. Inter-bank rate is more than Rs. 55/- as opposed to the official rate of Rs. 46/-, which means that the defacto devaluation of 20% has taken place. Hundreds of thousands of workers in state enterprises have been rendered unemployed and the severe recession has led to retrenchment in the private sector. The Stock Market has lost more than two-thirds of its value with the index dropping from 2600 to 800.

Then came the charge of extra judicial killings in Karachi - Pakistan's biggest metropolis and its industrial and commercial capital. In Karachi itself hundreds of people have been killed including the high profile killing of the Chairman, KESC, Shahid Hamid, four harmless employees of Union Texas, the day light murder of ex-MNA Zuhair Akram Nadeem and lately the assassination of renowned and revered Hakim Muhammad Said who served as Governor Sindh during my tenure as Prime Minister. In the wake of these events custodial killings have taken place. I found Karachi at war and left it in peace. This legacy

was forfeited and bartered away by the dictator Nawaz Sharif for unholy political compromises.

As you sow so shall you reap. The high cost of the corruption, mismanagement and bad governance in high places is that the province of Sindh is the only province deprived of the opportunity to govern itself.

At the time of the nuclear test on May 28, I had made it easier for the Government to sign the CTBT during the course of my budget speech in the National Assembly of Pakistan in early June, 1998 with a policy statement that Pakistan should sign the CTBT unilaterally. If this advice had been taken at that time, the Rupees would not have collapsed, the foreign exchange deposits need not have been frozen, and Pakistan would not have defaulted. Instead of taking the sane advice, the Government embarked upon a mad misadventure of raising issues which divided the country like the Kalabagh Dam and launching a cowardly attack on the foreign investors, the chief target being the IPPs. This resulted in a flight of capital and a sense of alienation in the minority provinces not witnessed since December, 1971. The fundamental rights of the citizens were also stolen. The Government has been forced to beat a retreat on all these fronts. The Kalabagh Dam issue has been dropped. The campaign against the IPPs has floundered and run out of steam. The Supreme Court of Pakistan has struck down the notification suspending Fundamental Rights. The country is in default.

What is the cause of our present woes. Lets us face the fact: We have bad regime lacking popular support, driven by insecurity, bent upon the politics of revenge, creating a dangerous polarization amongst the people and provinces, threatening the very foundation of Pakistan. As a result of the mishandling of the situation, Pakistan's economic and internal security is under great threat. After having tried to take on the IMF with the help of donations from overseas Pakistanis whose dollars he had confiscated, Mr. Nawaz Sharif is on his way to Washington to sign the surrender document. After having made the country an economic hostage, the Government says that Pakistan is ready, six months too late, to sign not only the CTBT but also sign the NPT and impose a voluntary freeze on the production of fissile material, much before the fissile material cut off treaty has been finalized in Geneva, giving India a permanent advantage in the nuclear stockpile. Had Pakistan taken the moral high ground on proliferation matters in May, it would have won the goodwill of the international community; stolen a march on India, got some of its debt written off and been given some time to replace fissile material lost by detonating six bombs - when one would have the same effect - in a fit of machismo.

It is an axiom of geo-politics that it is not possible to sustain an independent unclear deterrent with a moth eaten and dependent economy. The first and

foremost responsibility of any Government is to restore and stabilize the economy. We do not have to eat grass. We just have to pay taxes. The example must be set at the top.

Yet the power elite of today are infamous for not paying its loans or taxes.

Under the amendments to the Ehtesab Act, the Chief Ehtesab Commissioner has been deprived of the power to make any reference or conduct any inquiry without the blessing of the Chairman Ehtesab Cell, a henchman and crony of the Prime Minister. Who is going to inquire how the palaces in Raiwind and multi-million pounds Flats in Park Lane, were acquired or investigate the money laundering through the Qazi family of London, Saeed Sheikh of Washington and other cronies of the great dictator with dubious antecedents?

The latest of these scandals deals with the attempt of the Government to destroy the last citadel of democracy - Parliament itself.

Clause 4 of the 15th Amendment which has been passed by the National Assembly provides that "The provision of this article shall have effect notwithstanding any contained in the Constitution, any law or judgment of any Court". This single clause amounts to the abrogation of the Constitution, the destruction of the Federation and erosion of the independence of the judiciary. I am second to none in my faith in Islam. It is not the desire to serve Islam that inspires this Bill. It is the desire to concentrate all powers in the hands of a dictator. Under this clause the Prime Minister can by-pass the rule of seniority in appointment of judges and the next Chief Justice of the Supreme Court need not be the senior most, Mr. Justice Saeed-uz-Zaman Siddiqui. Under this clause the Prime Minister's fiat would over ride any law, federal or provincial, thus making nonsense of provincial autonomy and re-imposing One Unit. Under this clause any provision of the Constitution itself can be struck down which amounts to abrogating the Constitution itself.

Let us therefore, resolve to save the Federation of Pakistan from the clutches of the dictator. Let us therefore resolve to rebuild our institutions. It is therefore resolved to respect the trichotomy of power between the legislature - whose duty it is to make laws, the judiciary - which is invested with the judicial power to interpret the law, and the Executive - which is obliged to implement the laws. Let us, therefore, resolve for the right of the people, to rid the country of the law of the jungle and to restore the economic and political rights of the people of the Federating Units.

**Karachi Press Club
at Meet the Press Programme
November 06, 1998**

Members of the Press

Karachi has again become a killing field during the last 20 months, thanks to the policies of the PML under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif. The situation is back to the brink where it was before the Army launched Operation Clean-up in June 1992 under the first Nawaz regime. Despite the fact that Pakistan was saved and normalcy brought back to Karachi; the dissolution of the Benazir Bhutto government paved the way for the situation to get out of hand once again. Unfortunately, 678 people have so far been killed in Karachi in the first ten months of 1998, whereas the death toll was brought down to zero by October, 1996.

The imposition of Governor-rule in Sindh shows that the PML led coalition in Sindh failed to maintain law and order at the level where it was in October 1996. Instead of taking the responsibility of its total failure, the Nawaz led PML has taken pride in imposing Governor-rule while violating all democratic and federal norms. Devoid of principled politics, solely interested in personalised power, the Nawaz led PML, having alienated Sindh's two major communities and political parties, is left only with the option to impose a rigged assembly of its cronies in Sindh. Two PML led coalition regimes under two tenures of Nawaz disenfranchised a majority of Sindhis. The Governor-rule deprives all the people of a most sensitive federating unit of all their rights. The bankrupt policies of the Nawaz led PML had created the conditions for engaging the army on the domestic security front in 1992. It has once again created an internal security risk while Pakistan is faced with an unprecedented crisis of its survival and is totally isolated in the world.

To keep Sindh's largest party out of power with a view to undemocratically impose the hegemony of a Qabza group from Raiwind, the Nawaz regime violated Articles of the Constitution, national security and trampled rule of law to form its minority regime in return. The PML regime released the most dreaded terrorists who, later, unleashed a fresh spate of terrorism in Karachi - killing 399 persons in 1997, raising to 678 in 1998. All this was done as part of the politics of revenge, which has been the hallmark of the politics of the political heir of General Zia-ul-Haq. Sindh was sacrificed at the altar to get revenge against the arrest of the father of Nawaz Sharif, a man wanted for money laundering, bank defaults and tax evasion. So Senator Asif Zardari had to be

arrested, Sindh's industry shut down, its bankers and businessmen thrown behind bars under a hand-picked Sindh regime.

The price of revenge was a devil's pact under which those who had led a mini insurgency to create Jinnahpur, a map of which was released by Brigadier Haroon, were freed.

It is this hallmark of the politics of revenge practised by the Nawaz led PML which has led to the anger and frustration of the people of Pakistan and hit at the roots of national solidarity and unity.

Unfortunately, the politics of revenge has been accompanied by a bitter racial prejudice against the different ethnic groups making up Pakistan. This racial prejudice has led to the enactment of Ehtesab laws, the sacking of Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah, the imposition of President Tarar, the ethnic cleansing of the Federal bureaucracy, taxation department, police force, banks, corporations, such as WAPDA, Railways, PTC, PSO, Sui Gas, Steel Mills.

More serious is the expression of racial prejudice in the program of down sizing. Tens of thousands of workers belonging to minority provinces lost their jobs alongwith those from the majority provinces. This was done to protect the Raiwind bloodsuckers who had run away with money from public sector banks refusing to repay them. British newspapers have documented how the money was laundered using forged passports. Revenge and racial prejudice have lit the fires of parochialism, which, if not extinguished in time, can incinerate the whole Country.

It was with great difficulty that Pakistan Peoples Party had healed parochial sentiments, insurgency and established the writ of the State. Tragically, the forces that conspire to kill Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, disqualify Prime Minister Suhrawardy, hanged Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, destabilise the governments of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, adopted myopic policies which are damaging the Federation. The attempts to settle political scores through a handful of judges at Lahore High Court is having a devastating effect on national interest. Increasingly the regime is besieged - the more powers it takes, the weaker it becomes.

Over 1,000 terrorists were released by the Nawaz regime, those involved in at least 600 murder cases, were set free in violation of Article 6 of the Constitution. The intelligence agencies and the Sindh Law Department opposed the move since there was no provision in law for the withdrawal of heinous criminal cases, especially the murder cases, unless the accused is acquitted by the Court of law.

The terrorists consequently killed 72 law enforcement personnel, including 61 policemen and 11 Rangers jawans.

While the terrorists were rewarded and compensated at State expenses, those who risked their lives to restore law and order were punished or eliminated. The Nawaz led PML regime systematically encouraged terrorism while discouraging the civilian law enforcing agencies in performing their lawful duties.

A hefty amount of Rs. 700 million from the Federal kitty was paid as compensation to terrorists amongst them those on whom the State has placed head-money. Besides paying compensation money, the Nawaz regime constituted a high-level judicial commission to probe into the alleged cases of extra-judicial killing between 1992-96. The objective was not actually to punish those who had committed excesses, but to demoralise the law enforcement agencies who had conducted anti-terrorists operation in Karachi.

Shortly after the dastardly murder of Hakim Said the very Party which is now accused of his murder by Nawaz Sharif himself, were awarded three additional ministries. When they refused to vote for the Shariat Bill despite the bait, one Fasih Jugnoo was killed in police custody. This death has raised many eyebrows. After all if the MQM activists were involved in terrorist acts, it is no secret that Nawaz had colluded with the terrorists and had a close relationship with them. What did Fasih Jugnoo know about Nawaz. Now the Advocate General Sindh has stated in the High Court that the main accused has not confessed to the murder of Hakim Said, which makes many people wonder if the Government did it.

Ansar Burney Trust has alleged that a criminal known as "Kashif" used to carry out murders for the Ittefaq family. When Kashif threatened to talk, he was extra-judicially murdered in Lahore.

Therefore, the public is confused. Was Fasih Jugnoo involved in the murder of Hakim Said on the orders of MQM or was it on the orders of Nawaz Sharif.

I have been alleging for some time that some of the bodyguards of my brother were involved with my political opponents to trigger a situation leading to the death of my brother with a view to destabilise a democratic government, which had given Pakistan peace, stability, progress, development and national honour and pride.

However, the Nawaz led PML colluded in the cover of that brutal slaying by releasing the bodyguards, rewarding them with jobs and much more. It is no

secret that some of these desperadoes are awash with money and living well beyond their means.

With such a track record of colluding with criminals, terrorists, and murders for narrow, politically expedient gains, the Nawaz led PML lost all credibility. Therefore, when it charges MQM with the murder of Hakim Said, people wonder about the real motives. They wonder why appeals are being made for the killers to turn themselves in. When has a killer ever turned himself in? The law provides for the arrest of all and any killers. If the regime has proof, it should make the arrest and try it before a court of law. A media trial serves no purpose other than muddying the waters.

The resurgence of terrorism in Karachi has not only reinforced the economic slowdown, but has also stifled all chances of investment and growth at a time when Pakistan is faced with a crisis of balance of payments. The paralysis of Karachi will further deepen the hardships faced by the people and increase unemployment. It will bring down the GDP growth, exports and revenues, thus creating a greater fiscal and current account deficit than estimated, since Karachi is the main contributor.

On the other hand PPP as a single majority party in Sindh, during the 1998-90 and 1993-96, still formed a coalition with the MQM (A) to bring ethnic harmony in Sindh and ensure the participation of all in governance. But, as opposed to the PML (N), the PPP did not compromise on two principles: one, it did not compromise on the rule of law. Two, it refused to release terrorists.

The Benazir Bhutto government adopted a three-pronged strategy to normalise the situation in Karachi first it withdrew the Army in November 1994 and tried to normalise the situation through negotiations. When the terrorists refused to drop arms and increased violence, the Sindh government used the law of the land to arrest those wanted and produced them before the courts, fundamental human rights remained in force, political activity stayed in place, providing a safety value.

Most of the terrorist networks were busted and Karachi was freed from the deadly clutches of terrorism.

Two, it addressed the real problems faced by the Karachi'ities by launching a Karachi package worth Rs. 121 billion to improve water and power supply, public transport and traffic, education and health services, communication and employment opportunities. Massive development projects were launched including Mai Kolachi By-Pass, Jinnah Bridge, Lilly Bridge, Shahrah-e-Faisal flyover, expansion of Kala Pul, and of load shedding, water for Orangi and Lyari,

which have been completed. The Benazir government successfully attracted a good number of foreign investors to Karachi by making the metropolitan city's atmosphere more congenial to investment. Foreign investment of US Dollars 2 billion was made in the Port Qasim Industrial Area alone between 1994 and 1996, thus generating employment for the educated unemployed youth - Karachi's biggest cause of social discontent. The Stock Exchange had reached the highest peak of 2800 points and Karachi revived its economic dynamism. This was an exceptional period of development, after Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto's, when massive development projects were undertaken. The list of projects at the stage of completion in October 1996 on the ground and details of Foreign Private Sector investment in Port Qasim are attached to this Facts Sheet.

Third, efforts at reconciliation among different ethnic groups. Continue the door was kept open for negotiation Karachi'ites began to feel safe and protected.

A comprehensive alternative

On behalf of the Opposition I unveil our plans for a political solution to the Karachi problem.

1. Immediate withdrawal of the Governor-rule and emergency from Sindh,
2. Establishment of a grand government of reconciliation consisting of all elected representatives committed to bring ethnic harmony, peace and an end to terrorism as a mode of politics.
3. Thorough cleansing of the law enforcing agencies and creation of citizens bodies to supervise the law and order situation.
4. Action under the law against all armed bands, terrorists and mafias without any exception and making Karachi free of arms.
5. Formation of a dozen judicial commissions to scrutinize all cases of politically-motivated crimes.
6. Maximum autonomy for the Metropolitan Corporation representing all ethnic groups proportionate to their share in population while devolving most powers to the district governments.
7. Restructuring and reforms in all civic bodies and utilities agencies and development authorities with the participation of professional managements and concerned citizens.

8. Raising metropolitan revenues which are necessary to improve the utilities, social services and undertake development programmes with the direct participation of the people.

9. Developing an all-embracing autonomous monitoring system to ascertain the performance of all local departments and creation of regulatory authorities to supervise all local agencies and provider of utilities.

10. Evolving a Master Plan for Karachi, keeping in view the growth and requirement of the city in the next two decades.

11. Redemarcation of constituencies to ensure the representation of all without any discrimination.

12. Release of Electoral Rolls 1995 and fair local bodies elections under the same. Measures to minimize unemployment by reviving private sector and developing new avenues of self-employment schemes, etc.

Fresh census using modern technology with results collated and announced immediately at the district level.

A depoliticised civil bureaucracy and police force with the sole object of ruler law, not for settling political scores.

The PPP invites all intellectuals, professionals, elected representatives, leading personalities of all ethnic groups, leaders of different sectors of economy, students, artists, journalists and NGOs in Sindh to back a political solution for Karachi's problems.

List of Projects to resolve the Transport, Power, Water Supply and Sanitation problems of Karachi.

**Pakistan Peoples Party Government
1993-1996**

Name of Projects

- University Road Flyover
- Bridge at Rahid Minhas Road
- Rashid Minhas Road Flyover
- Shah Faisal Colony Flyover

- Truck Stand at Hawksbay
- Hub River Road Improvement
- Lilly Road Bridge
- Old Kalapul Bridge
- Flyover on Clifton Bridge
- Liaquatabad Flyover
- Widening of Lasbellah Bridge
- Link Road between Shaheed-e-Millat road to Tin Hatti
- Lyari Express Way
- Jinnah Bridge with Flyover connection
- Bridge at Mauripur Road
- Malir Bund Flood Protection
- Bin Qasim Park
- Storm Water Drainage Scheme
- Hospital Complex in Malir
- Children Hospital at North Karachi
- Grid Station Lyari
- Improvement of Distribution
- 6th 210 MW Unit at Bin Qasim
- 35 KW 220 KV Lines
- Pumping and Conveyance System (under Greater Karachi Water Supply Scheme)
- 100 MGD Water Supply Scheme
- Hub & Pipri Improvement Works
- Greater Karachi Sewerage Project (54 MGD)
- Lyari Sewerage System
- Sewerage (100)(Mehmoodabad+SITE)

PRIVATE SECTOR INVESTMENT AT PORT QASIM INITIATED

Pakistan Peoples Party's Government

1993-1996

No.	Name of Projects	Name of Investor	Investment volume in Millions US dollars
1	FOTCO Oil Terminal	Fauji Foundation	\$ 80.00
2	Container Terminal	Qasim International Container Terminal	\$ 80.00
3	PTA Plant	ICI	\$ 400.00
4	Engro Chemicals	Engro Pakistan Fertilizer Complex	\$ 400.00
5	Fauji Fertilizer Plant	Fauji Jordan Fertilizer Co	\$ 400.00
6	Chemicals Jetty	Engro Paktank	\$ 67.00
7	LNG Power Plant	Tractebel	\$ 400.00
8	Grain Terminal		\$ 100.00
9	Fertilizer Terminal		\$ 50.00
10	Edible Oil Refinery	Awam Private Ltd	\$ 20.00
11	Edible Oil Refinery	MAPAK Qasim Bulkers	\$ 11.29
		Total	\$ 2,008.29

Accountability or Revenge

Address of Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto

Chairperson Pakistan Peoples Party and Leader of the Opposition

At a Seminar organized by Council of Pakistan Affairs Karachi

November 26, 1998

Ladies and Gentlemen,

There is a difference between the process of Accountability and the policies of revenge. Accountability applies equally to elected representatives of the people on both sides in the National Assembly. Politics of Revenge applies only to the members of the Opposition. The process of Accountability is conducted by a non-partisan office whereas the policies of revenge lie at the heart of the Prime Minister's secretariat.

Accountability is achieved through the use of the Judicial process. Revenge is sought through abuse of the judicial process.

An example of accountability is the United States. There an independent prosecutor investigated the most powerful man in the world. The president of

United States did not hide behind the law by hijacking the office of the prosecutor through special laws. He faced the inquiry with strength. Here the Prime Minister of Pakistan who has defaulted with billions of rupees, laundered money through the Qazi passports and evaded tax refuses to allow for his independent investigation. He cooks up cases against the Opposition to divert attention from his ill-gotten wealth. He makes Judges who helped him overcome the Taj Company, Co-operatives and Supreme Court crises Senators and President.

One of the most unfortunate aspects is the Swiss government's role. By accepting the request of the Nawaz regime against the Leader of the Opposition, the present Swiss regime took sides in a Partisan political battle.

The Swiss made a mistake. A crime has to be first committed for criminal money to come. Next comes the question of laundering that criminal money.

We do know that the Swiss action was triggered by the false Pakistani claims that two Swiss companies had been illegally awarded a contract for pre-shipment.

Now the star witness of the regime has admitted in the Lahore High Court during the trial that the award of contract to PSI on a proposal by Revenue department companies was approved unanimously by a high level committee.

I bring this to your attention because the Swiss matter received so much publicity. I wonder why the star witness's statement has not received the same publicity.

In any event, the PSI companies helped double Pakistan revenues from Rs. 140 billion to Rs. 300 billion under the PPP. Our revenues are still frozen at Rs. 300 billion despite massive new taxation due to the cancellation of the PSI contracts.

The cancellation and scandalization of PSI companies has caused as much, if not more, damage than the scandalisation of the Independent Power Projects.

Pakistan economy is tottering because the policies of revenge targeted the two pillars on which the PPP government had built an economically secure Pakistan. Namely the first pillar of doubling revenues (PSI) and the second pillar of quadrupling direct private foreign investment (IPPs). On these two pillars, the PPP gave Pakistan an economy with a 6% growth rate, a falling deficit, reduced debt liability, sanctity of foreign currency deposits, a booming stock exchange and forex reserves of \$ 2 billion as of June 30, 1996.

The people today have a clear choice between the booming economy given by the PPP through MOUs and the default economy given by a defaulter Prime Minister through his IOUs.

Let me make it clear. We in the PPP demand accountability and presented a fair, just and even handed Accountability Bill in the National Assembly in September, 1996. We do not, however, subscribe to the disease of nailing political opponents on fictitious charges through dubious means of torture, perjury, imprisonment, coercion and forgery. Unfortunately this practice began in 1948 and has since been adopted by the heirs of dictators against the popular liberal, democratic forces of the country.

Soon after the birth of Pakistan, the infamous PRODA was born in 1948 to eliminate those brave sons of the Pakistan movement who had participated in the struggle for freedom. Those disqualified include the first Chief Ministers of Punjab and Sindh and Mr. Hameedul Haq Chaudhry, a staunch Muslim Leaguer from East Pakistan. A decade later, the dictator Ayub declared Martial Law and rounded up his rivals before the Electoral Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO). As India marched on the Road to Self reliance, EBDO was used to tame political leaders and turn Pakistan into a client state.

A generation of genuine political leaders including Prime Minister Shaheed Suharwardy and Chief Minister Mian Mumtaz Daultana were disqualified through a shameful abuse of the judicial process. The abuse of the judicial process sowed the seeds of disintegration which we bitterly harvested in 1971 with the breakup of the country.

A decade later in 1971, when the popular Quaid-e-Awam took over the reigns of government, Pakistan was spared the abuse of the judicial system. As a democrat he did not seek to eliminate his rivals. He had confidence in his own power base. But the second Martial Law by General Zia once again led to the abuse of the judicial system.

The instruments for the persecution of political opponents were Presidential Order 16 and Presidential Order 17 of 1977. Many political leaders were disqualified under these Orders. The climax of judicial abuse came with the so-called trial of Quaid-e-Awam and his execution. Zia saw a threat and he moved to remove it in a manner that disgraced Pakistan throughout the world. The word judicial murder was born and Pakistan faced a serious threat of disintegration. However PPP saved the country.

The common feature in PRODO, EBDO the two POs and the hanging of Quaid-e-Awam was that prosecution was a football in a game of power politics run at the

whim of an insecure regime lacking popular support. The abuse of the judicial process tarnished the image of the judiciary. Some say that throughout Pakistan's history, the judiciary has been on trial. Terms such as 'briefcases for Judges' have arisen amongst the public which reflect poorly on our institutions, society, government and the country.

I recall vividly the words of Quaid-e-Awam who said that if the judiciary does not jealously guard its own reputation and integrity the day would come when Martial Law would begin accountability of judges.

Last week we saw Pakistan's second largest province handed over to the military. If remedial steps are not taken urgently, the induction of the military in Sindh could well turn into a prelude for full fledged Martial Law.

This time it is likely that judges will join politicians, bureaucrats and businessman in being held accountable. After all when the Chiefs of the Navy and Army are unceremoniously sacked and the superior judiciary watches a corrupt political regime with out taking *suo moto* notice of the corruption charges filed against it, when the superior judiciary watches the ruthless, brutal persecution of a political party on cooked up charges based on perjury, forgery, torture, imprisonment, kidnapping, coercion, then all is not well in Rome.

We are witnessing the total collapse of institution. Anarchy and chaos have become the order of the day. The regime has a one point agenda of eliminating PPP. This obsession has blinded it to the realities of governance, laws, morality and created a grim vacuum. A vacuum which the politically motivated clerics are threatening to fill.

On the basis of a proposal of the PPP government, the office of an independent prosecutor was created in the form of the Chief Ehtesab Commissioner by the Ehtesab Ordinance, 1996. The Chief Ehtesab Commissioner, a judge from the Supreme Court appointed by consensus between Leader of the House & the Leader of Opposition was to spearhead an impartial inquiry into misconduct and corruption on both sides of the house ensuring equality, fair play and honesty. But a guilty PML(N) regime stained its hand with the execution of the independence of the Accountability Commission by stripping the Judge of all powers and making him a nothing more than a rubber stamp for its own malafide, malicious, politically motivated dramas to cover up the default of leading luminaries like Mian Sharif, Nawaz Sharif, Shahbaz Sharif and Saifur Rehman. The first clause to be hit was that accountability should begin from 1985 when Nawaz Sharif was Chief Minister, Punjab and had doled out 5600 plots, often to non-existent fictitious names. For daring to expose the plot scandal of

Nawaz Sharif, Pir Mazhar-ul Haq was targeted. To cover up the acts of commission and omission, accountability was shifted to 1990 onwards.

The Chief Ehtesab Commissioner was stripped of his power to refer complaints suo moto to the courts without reference to any investigative agency if he was of the opinion that a prima facie case was made out. This was to give veto powers to the regime to prevent the Judge from exposing its Blackdeeds and sending the Nawaz, Rehman & other families to the courts.

To hijack the Accountability process an Ehtesab Cell was created giving enormous powers to a dubious character with no credibility who owes millions to the Banks, pays no tax and has no source to explain his assets.

The office of Chairman of Ehtesab Cell headed by the notorious and ill reputed Saifur Rehman was created as a sword and as a shield: as a sword to attack the members of the Opposition and as a shield to protect the PML from the clouds of corruption which have hovered over it since the rule of Nawaz Sharif as Finance Minister in 1981.

The addition of a Cell in the Prime Minister's secretariat is discriminatory and contrary to the provisions of the Constitution. It has negated the right of equality before the law evidenced by the fact that no reference has been referred to an Ehtesab Bench despite many complaints being filed against Mr. Nawaz Sharif, Mr. Shahbaz Sharif and Mr. Saifur Rehman.

A classic example is PIA Reference 28/97 filed against the Opposition before the Ehtesab Bench at Karachi. The people of this country want a government which provides job opportunities. This case tries to turn a virtue into a vice by arguing that the appointments are illegal. An almost identical complaint was filed against Nawaz Sharif and others with full supporting evidence many months ago for he had given jobs to cronies at exorbitant salaries as a bribe to protect his default and Tax evasion. Yet no action has been taken on this complaint. A constitutional petition has been filed before High Court of Sindh seeking its assistance in having this complaint dealt with in accordance with the Act. We are still waiting for the honourable court to take up the matter. To pressurise the Sindh and Lahore High Court, four vacancies in the Supreme Court are lying unfilled. These vacancies as so eloquently shown during the Judges Case, exert undue pressure on the judiciary. There are simultaneously threats and inducements being meted out to the judiciary in a crude fashion by the executive. Unfortunately, some believe the judiciary has been tamed by the Mob attack on the Supreme Court in November 1997. Judicial activism has been replaced by judicial passivism. However, for how long can the judiciary, itself an integral part of society, remain a silent spectator to the events around it and before it?

The people at large look towards the judiciary for justice. As time passes, the voices crying out for justice against repression and suppression rise in volume and intensity. Such is the dynamic of social change that inevitably the cries of the populace will reach the hollowed portals of the custodians of Law. For law to remain, just for judiciary to remain pristine, society matters. Judges judge individuals. The public judges judgements. I am sure the judiciary will live up to the expectations of not only the victims of state repression but the demands of history itself by responding to the aspiration of the people who seek support, succour and a stable society through the scales of justice.

The crippled nature of the morally bankrupt and politically prejudiced biased and unjust Ehtesab Bureau was evident when three leading English dailies published stories of corruption, money laundering, tax evasions and abuse of office by Mr. Nawaz Sharif.

One day the serious fraud office in UK will investigate how Finance Minister Dar, a onetime chartered accountant of Ittefaq concerns, took the Qazi passports, forged the signatures to set up fictitious accounts for the Nawaz family. These fictitious accounts were used to launder money siphoned from public sector banks amounting to \$ 100 million (according to the then prevalent exchange rates). Some of this money, according to FIA reports went to Switzerland, some to Saudi Arabia, some to the purchase of 4 flats in London and some was laundered back to the forged Qazi accounts in Lahore. Against these forged accounts, Nawaz Sharif family borrowed money. to set up four industrial units. Thus the paper trial, the documentary chain is irrevocable and incontrovertible evidence of the sins, crimes and illegal acts of the Nawaz regime. Instead of giving a green signal for these cases to be tried, the so-called head of accountability (who is really the tail of the Ittefaq animal) sprang to the defence of the Leader of the House.

His defence of the indefensible action of the Leader of the House was in sharp contrast to his offensive behaviour towards the Leader of the Opposition. It clearly exposed the biased nature of the proceedings taking place in Pakistan.

One of the principles of natural justice is that an accused person has a right to be heard (unless this right is expressly excluded by the statute in question) before a fair and impartial body. Clearly the Ehtesab Bureau and its Chairman do not fit the bill. Nor does the Act fit the demands of natural justice which lie at the heart of Islamic jurisprudence where the levels of evidence are often higher than those found in other civilizations.

Constitutionally, the denial of this right in the Act is in breach of the rules of natural justice and liable to be struck down under the settled principle of Audi

Alterim Partem. The Lahore High Court has recognised this contention whilst hearing an Ehtesab Reference.

Section 18 of the Act is specifically against the Injunctions of Islam which does not permit the tainted evidence of an approver to be used against alleged accomplices in return for a pardon. This regime which pays lip service to Islam has exposed its own venal ambitions by enacting a law permitting an Approver. The provision of Approver has been widely abused by the Ehtesab Bureau and its Chairman. People have been tortured into becoming approver. When a Truth and Reconciliation Committee is set up in Pakistan on the pattern of South Africa, the full horror of the inhuman steps, the psychological warfare, the physical pain inflicted, the cruel actions taken, the threats to wives and daughters will all come out. These tactics, Hitlerian in nature, leading to the deaths of Riffat Askari, Chairman, ODGC, Azhar Suhail, Director General, APP, Sajjad Hussain, Chairman, Steel Mill and the heart attacks of Salman Farooqui. Federal Secretary, Usman Farooqui, Chairman Steel Mill, ill health of Masood Sharif, Director General Intelligence Bureau amongst others will shock the world and shame the perpetrators of this crime forever in time.

The Extracts from the daily "Dawn" of 14th September, 1998 demonstrate the partiality of the process:

"Accountability of dozens of important (sitting) politicians and legislators, some of them provincial chief ministers and federal ministers, has failed to make any headway mainly because of slow investigation and inquiry into the cases against them referred to the Ehtesab Bureau by the Chief Ehtesab Commissioner'.

Referring to the letter written by Commissioner Mirza, the Dawn adds:

"Justice Ghulam Mujadid Mirza, has been waiting for reports from the Ehtesab Bureau for over one year, and, under the law, the CEC has no other power except sending reminders to the EB that reports should be sent at the earliest possible.

The Daily refers to 21 cases/references against the Sindh chief minister Liagat Jatoi, National Assembly Deputy Speaker Chaudhry Jafar Iqbal, Federal Minister for Labour and Manpower Sheikh Rashid, Faisalabad MNA Chaudhry Sher Ali (brother in law of Nawaz Sharif).

1. PIAC

One of the many fabricated charges against the Leader of Opposition is making illegal appointments in PIAC. This case has nothing to do with financial impropriety. As noted earlier, an identical reference (with full supporting evidence) filed against Nawaz Sharif has not been referred to any Court. The PIA

case is based upon the unsubstantiated statement of Ahmad Sadiq. Ahmad Sadiq was an accused in the case. He turned Approver to rid himself of the trial. Interestingly the Supreme Court has ruled that the evidence of an Approver has no value in the absence of corroboration. It is surprising that the Bench at Karachi is still hearing this case.

2. Assets Mis-declaration:

Again a case which does not involve financial impropriety. Here even an Approver is missing. The case rests on rumour and hearsay. Even the detective agency hired at millions of dollars has stated in its report, which is on the record, that it was unable to substantiate the rumours. Properties of 155 persons were frozen in one swoop to victimise these close to the PPP leadership. The public prosecutor was forced into admitting before the Lahore High court that the regime did not have a single direct evidence linking the Leader of Opposition to the much publicised accounts in Switzerland. In fact the Swiss case was an example of 'Defence is the best offence' by Nawaz and his family. To divert attention from his mis-declaration of assets, his defaults, the billions taken, the lack of source of money to set up factories, Nawaz decided to throw dust in the eyes of the public by creating the Swiss drama. That he has mis-declared his assets are clear. For instance, nowhere in his election nomination papers has he mentioned his helicopter or his flats in London. How can a man who pays no taxes afford these things which cost millions of dollars? References against Nawaz Sharif and his cronies have malafidely been ignored by the Ehtesab Bureau as this entire process is about revenge not accountability.

3. ARY Gold:

The PPP Government has been accused of granting monopoly to ARY Gold. Infact the contract was awarded after open tender in which only one company met the requirements. The tender was called by the Ministry of Commerce and not by the Prime Minister. The decision to permit import of gold was taken by the Cabinet as a whole. It is not understood how the judiciary can review decisions of the cabinet, given the division of power between the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature. The Judiciary can of course, review the action of an individual. However in this case no evidence has been put forward to show any connection of the Prime Minister with the decision. The state's case is that if the Prime Minister presided over a meeting, the Prime Minister, and not the cabinet is responsible for all policies. This case is a non-starter. A similar reference was filed against Nawaz Sharif for his granting monopoly rights of a wheat contract to his front man Saeed Sheikh in Washington D.C. and has been malafidely ignored by the Ehtesab Bureau.

4. Tractors:

Yet another case relates to the Awami Tractors Scheme. It will be recalled that PPP government had provided tractors to farmers at Rs: 1,50,000/=. The PPP is accused of improper conduct for not providing the tractors at a lower price. Yet today similar tractors are being sold under the Nawaz regime for Rs. 4,00,000/=. Ironically those trying to help the poor and needy are punished while those like Nawaz Sharif who pillage the nationalised banks are yet to be taken to task. The appointments of favourites with huge salaries in the public sector banks to ensure the rescheduling of Nawaz Sharif defaulted loans is yet to catch the eye of President Tarrar or the Ehtesab Bureau. The whole process is nothing more than a partisan drama funded at public expense.

5. PSI Companies (COTECNA & SGS)

As far as the Swiss Pre-shipment Inspection contracts are concerned. the Nawaz League initially negotiated them in 1992 and the CBR invited tenders at the time. By the time the CBR put up its proposals in 1994, the PPP had formed the government. The proposals were put up to a Committee which included the Advisor on Finance. The Law Minister, the Law Secretary (presently a Judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan) the Minister of Finance and other government functionaries. It was approved without any dissent as the record show. Mr. Ahmed Sadiq, the then Principal Secretary who was present during the presentation, has already confirmed on oath in his evidence before the Lahore High Court in November,1998 that it was unanimously decided to award the contract to SGS and Cotecna. The Pre-shipment Inspection Companies helped Pakistan double revenue collection from Rs 140 billion to Rs 300 billion in three years. They detected \$ 2 billion custom tax evasion. We are going to the IMF for \$ 1.2 billion to be paid over three years. Pity the Nation where leaders who are persecuted whilst those who, despite massive new taxation, cannot raise revenues beyond the Rs. 300 billion of 1996 are brought in through presidential intrigue and rigged elections.

This regime inducted favourites at enormous salaries in the CBR in return for protection of Nawaz Sharif tax evasion. SGS and Cotecna were scandalised at the cost of the national economy which has collapsed. Honest Income Tax Officers like Mr. Saadatullah Khan who discovered the tax evasion of the influential were ruthlessly sacked.

We can see that the so-called reference filed by the regime are malafide in fact and in law and are vulgar instruments of political victimization which in any mature democracy should have no place in a court of law. This much publicised politics of revenge however is not just serving the political purpose of elimination of the Opposition in the country but is also serving the regime's objective of diverting the peoples' attention away from the real issues that are facing the country such as the collapse of the economy, the rise of parochialism,

the rise of fundamentalism, the rise of violence with Nawaz Sharif inciting the mob either against the Supreme Court, the Armed Forces or the Senate. Such a state of affairs cannot long continue. The insecurity driven policies of a regime born in the darkness of Presidential intrigue, milked on the cow of rigged elections speaking the language of ethnicity, violence and revenge cannot endure. The country has collapsed under the weight of the unpredictable, illogical and unreasonable policies of a mafia which does not know how to spell governance leave alone govern.

The writing on the wall is clear. Every patriotic Pakistani wants an end to a regime that is threatening the Nation with disintegration. To lead the people out of the crisis, the PPP and its allies are organising a rally in Lahore on 28 November 1998 to mobilise the masses against a tyranny that is no longer acceptable.

I thank the Organisers of this function for a useful seminar. I hope that the discussions today will help enlighten the people of Pakistan and the world community about the nature of the politics of revenge in Pakistan and its far-reaching consequences on the economy, security, well being and stability of Pakistan.

Economic Disaster under PML (N)

**Address by Leader of Opposition, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto
to Peshawar High Court Bar Association
December 3, 1998**

Some segments of the business community, had high hopes when Nawaz Sharif came into power through Presidential intrigue. False expectations were raised when the regime promised tax cuts, package to reduce debts, recovery of defaulted bank loans, and commitment to strengthen CBR to keep the previous government's target of bringing the budget deficit down to less than 4% of the GDP.

The euphoria disappeared fast. The regime neither had the will nor the capability to implement the promised packages. Instead, the regime went quickly for legislation in great secrecy and abuse of Parliamentary procedure. Constitutional amendments to nullify the 8th Amendment and the 14th Amendment to prevent defectors did not even figure on the Order of the Day or go to any Parliamentary committee for discussion. Subsequently, the removal of Chief Justice of Pakistan was ensured through sheer thuggery by mobbing the Supreme Court of Pakistan with a view to tame the judiciary. The President was forced to resign under threat of impeachment. The crude manner in which the regime undemocratically

forced the Chief Justice to go on leave split the apex court and gave rise to the term "Briefcases for the Judiciary". Unfortunately for the Nation, the bag man of the regime was made President of Pakistan. A man who had openly committed contempt of court by directly attacking the conduct of honourable judges of the Supreme Court. It is unfortunate that a young lawyer Haji Dildar was recently convicted for contempt for stating a historical fact namely that there is natural justice as evidenced from the fact that dogs ate the body of the Chief Justice of Lahore High Court Maulvi Mushtaq, who sentenced Quaid-e-Awam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to death. More unfortunate was the remark of Nawaz Sharif's former Law Secretary who retorted "Dogs like You".

Our judiciary as an institution is weakened when people such as the President who pretend to be pious are allowed to commit gross contempt of court and young lawyers who recall bitter facts are sent to prison.

It is a misfortune that those who storm the Supreme Court are freed and garlanded by the regime, that no action is taken against the dictator Nawaz Sharif for instigating and bussing the mob which attacks in full public view the highest judicial forum in the land. However, this misfortune is not our destiny. The legal community has a special responsibility to spearhead charge and send home a regime which is brutal and immoral. I am sure you will succeed in this task.

Economically, the regime failed abysmally. With the help of SGS and Cotecna, PPP Government had doubled tax revenues from Rs.140 billion to Rs. 300 billion approximately. Despite appointing a highly paid banker imported from London as the head of the CBR and massive new taxation, Revenues still stand at Rs. 300 billion. SGS/Cotecna had detected \$2 billion missing revenues which the PPP Government was investigating when it was over thrown.

The magnitude of the missing \$2 billion for Pakistan can be understood if we compare it to the \$1.2 billion for which we have gone to the IMF. However, rather than raise the nation's revenue and reduce its debt, (as the PPP was doing), the PML(N) was bent upon protecting those unscrupulous elements who over-invoice, under-invoice and cheat the country and its people of a bright future.

The frozen revenue collection despite a massive fall in oil prices has increased the national debt and adversely affected the economy.

Against this background, the regime picked up unnecessary quarrel with the multinationals. A special and novel law was passed threatening to cancel the IPPs projects unless they admitted they had paid a bribe. Admitting to having

paid a bribe was to be awarded with the contract. This was a blatant attempt to bribe multinationals into lying under threat of losing billions of dollars they had invested in the projects. Much to the dismay of the PML(N) the multinationals preferred to lose money and protect their reputations than lie and allow them to become pawns in the bitter, partisan political battle.

The revenues denied to Pakistan through cancellation of SGS and Cntecna contracts and the investment lost to Pakistan through scandalization of the IPPs has adversely affected the future of our children and the prestige of our country.

Although we are a nuclear power, thanks to Quaid-e-Awam, we are a bankrupt nation, thanks to Nawaz's PML, pitied or mocked by friends and foes, going with a begging bowl to the children in Manchester and Birmingham asking for \$10. This is the humiliating state to which Nawaz Sharif has reduced this once proud federation which hosted the Islamic Summit and the Muslim Women's Olympics.

The fall in the Revenues caused by cancellation of the SGS/Cotecna contracts has added to poverty nationwide. Sindh and Balochistan were rendered bankrupt through lower tax collections by the CBR compared to the NFC targets. Organizations like WAPDA and KESC with cash deficit of over Rs. (60) sixty billion, defaulted in payments to PSO, PPL, Sui Southern, Sui Northern, NRL, and OGDC for supply of oil and gas. The removal and arrest of the Pakistan Steel Mill Chairman, Usman Farooqi, enabled fixing of Steel prices to benefit Nawaz Sharif's personal business at the cost of Karachi's proud Steel Mills where 40,000 Karachi-ites work. The anti-Labour policies in PIA where hundreds of young people lost jobs unnecessarily, led to demoralization and bankruptcy of PIA. Shares of Pakistan Telecommunications fell. Every major public sector organization is financially worse off today than it was under the excellent management of PPP government. Despite IIVV, World Bank, Asian Development Bank and other International Financial Institutions (IFIs) funding Qarz Utaro Mulk Sanwaro Scheme, foreign exchange reserves fell. Foreign Exchange reserves under the PPP stood at dollars 2 billion on June 30, 1996. They fell to \$1 billion in June 1997 and down to \$600 million in June 1998.

The PPP government had increased forex reserves from \$300 million when we took over, to \$2 billion on June 30, 1996 due to my travel abroad as Prime Minister. These travels brought in massive foreign investment which acted as the engine of growth for our economy. The economic team, under my leadership, paid of an additional \$1 billion of Pakistan's most expensive debt. You can say we had the "Midas touch". Whatever we touched turned to gold. However, whatever Nawaz Sharif touches, turns bankrupt. But this is not our destiny. We can and we will change our ways.

For the last 50 years, this nation ate up its most gifted children. This started with the murder of Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan, the disqualification of Prime Minister Sohrawardy, the hanging of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and dismissal of two governments of Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto. But for the next 50 years we will do things differently. We will recognize that democracy gives us strength and the children of democracy, governments born of free, fair elections give us strength.

The lack of leadership shown at the time of nuclear blasts caused further injury to our economy and thereby the hard working peasants, labourers, middle classes and salaried classes of Pakistan. Instead of signing the CTBT on May 28, 1998, the PML Nawaz (N) regime chose to freeze foreign currency accounts. This shattered investors' confidence in the country. It deprived the country from its usual inflows of remittances from overseas workers, receipts in foreign currency accounts and foreign investment (both foreign direct investment and portfolio investment) aggregating to nearly \$ 5 billion per annum.

The unilateral decision to thrust the Kalabagh Dam despite serious reservations about the viability of the dam, an unrealistic budget that failed to take into consideration the effect of sanctions imposed by G-7 countries, the mess in fixing a proper exchange value of rupee and the introduction of distorted multiple exchange rate system which encouraged the under and over invoicing of exports and imports, introducing the bogey of CA-15 with an intent to dismantle the superior judiciary of the country and allow, unchecked by judicial constraints, power in the Prime Minister to dictatorially determine social, political, economic, cultural and religious activities.

The recent imposition of governor's rule in Sindh has further weakened the federation. In the Senate the regime admitted that over 3600 deaths had occurred in Lahore in the last 9 months as compared to 1500 in Karachi. Yet it is the deaths in Karachi which are played up. Nawaz Sharif's brother has played havoc with the lives of the people of Punjab. The 3600 deaths took place as opposed to where 1500 deaths took place.

Surely Tarar who claims to be a "good Muslim" should have imposed Presidential rule in the country when the PML(N) admitted its total failure in administration by shifting the visit of Crown Prince Abdullah to Lahore.

The PML(N) will never be forgiven by the country for freeing hardened terrorists trained in the foreign countries purely out of political opportunism. Brig. Haroon had disclosed the map of Jinnahpur in a press conference in 1992. Yet those who had plotted and conspired against Pakistan were freed unconstitutionally and rewarded financially through state funds for kidnapping Major Kaleemullah,

killing DSPs, Rangers and thousands of Karachi-ites. Those who had used grenade launchers and rocket launchers were freed to continue their criminal activities.

Here I would like to make a distinction between the political wing of the MQM and some of its members who indulge in terrorism. PPP has always been ready to make political compromises. However, as far as terrorism is concerned, we adopt hard line on it believing that terrorism is a threat to the peace and tranquility of the citizens. It is the right of the citizens to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which we have vowed to protect and promote. Let me add that there are terrorist elements outside the MQM supporters. Terrorists in Malakand in the TNSM, terrorists in Punjab's sectarian parties, terrorists elsewhere too. It should be a fatal error to single out terrorist only affiliated with the MQM. Any action, to be accepted, must be seen by the people as fair and just. Otherwise it will fail.

The killers of Hakeem Saeed were freed by Mr. Nawaz Sharif. Three MQM ministers who were inducted after the deplorable murder of Karachi's most respected citizen. However, after MQM refused to vote for CA-15, Governor's rule was imposed to browbeat them into submission. The killers of Hakeem Saeed can be proceeded against under criminal and antiterrorist laws already on the books. It has no nexus with governor's rule which has been adopted to bring about a dummy assembly through rigging. A dummy Assembly is for pushing through Kalabagh Dam and getting the stamp of approval on the doctored Census, among other reasons.

The picture of elected representatives of Sindh Assembly with guns pointed on them sitting on the road with the Assembly gates locked and barred is shocking. The PML(N) has disgraced the Nation by allowing such a situation to arise. The recent Indian manouvers of an amphibious assault should be an eye-opener. Such manouvers indicate that the alienation of Karachi-ites will be a significant factor in the event of conflict.

(I am not speaking on foreign policy otherwise I could have elaborated on how the Indo-Pak talks have been badly handled by the regime. Surely postponement of the military exercises was one of the first items our side should have raised as a confidence building measure.)

Against this background comes the Special Dollar Bond Scheme offering conversion of seven billion dollars worth foreign currency accounts into dollars bond. Other attractions include exemption from income tax, wealth tax and Zakat, acceptability as collateral for raising rupee loans, tradable on the stock exchange, acceptance by the privatization commission against sale of assets.

These area available as bearer bonds as well as registered and encashable anytime before the maturity period in Pak rupees at the official exchange rate on the date of encashment.

These are undoubtedly one of the most lucrative bonds in the world. Yet they have not taken off because a country with less than US \$450 million forex which has defaulted in debt service payments totalling US \$1.2 billion, having a shortfall of nearly US \$5 billion per annum in the balance of payments, can not meet this additional liability of over US \$ 400 million per annum as interest payments and US \$7 billion as principal in the third year on maturity of these bonds.

For Pakistan, this is jumping from the frying pan into the fire. In 1992 Nawaz Sharif announced the Economic Reforms Act which led to the first crash. This tragic scheme paves the way for another crash in 2001-2003. One fails to understand the logic of the regime unless it knows not what it does. If this scheme succeeds in attracting foreign currency accounts deposit holders, it will result in increasing the foreign currency liability of the State from current US \$32 billion to US \$39 billion. Depositors who are yet to withdraw their money from the frozen foreign currency accounts will be attracted by these bonds. They will be attracted because the Bonds are exempt from all taxes, provide tax shelter to tax dodgers and can fetch a premium in the secondary market. The economic package of the PPP government sought to prevent tax evasion. Economic packages by Nawaz Sharif promote tax evasion as 'this scheme shows. As the bonds are encashable in rupees at the official exchange rate prevailing at the time of encashment, with the expected devaluation in about two months time that has already been agreed with the IMF, people are purchasing these bonds from rupees in their frozen foreign currency accounts can make windfall profits. The country will make windfall loses. The conversion of the current rupee balance in the frozen foreign currency accounts to these bonds will have serious adverse consequences for the country, including:

Increasing the State's debt by upto US \$ 7 billion, Bank liquidity will be adversely affected as funds are transferred in rupees from banks to the government. The banking sector is already tottering under a mountain of bad debts due to Bank default by Nawaz and Co., will be threatened by closure unless a way is found to re-divert funds, estimated at over Rs. 320 billion from government to the banking sector;

This is a scheme to covert rupees into dollars. It does not make sense for anyone with dollars to change them at current curb rate of Rs. 60 to a Dollar and buy the bonds at a loss at around Rs. 50 to a Dollar.

This is a Mad Hatter Scheme which only the former Ittefaq Chartered Accountant, our new Minister of Finance, of the forged Qazi passports fame, could have come up with. Its purpose is to benefit those cronies of Nawaz & Co. who were foiled by the former Director General, FIA from taking out their Dollars on the night of the country's biggest Bank Robbery, beating the previous Taj Company/Cooperatives robbery of the first PML(N) regime. This Mad Hatter Scheme has further compromised Pakistan's economic future and well being of its people.

It is impossible for Pakistan to have the necessary Dollars even for the interest on these bonds, when it is unable to meet even its existing debt servicing obligations. Even if Pakistan obtains the US \$ 5 billion IMF bail out package, (a large part of which is rescheduling of existing loans) it will remain short of Pakistan's funding requirement in meeting debt service commitments. Therefore the regime will seek other sources of funding, such as the exorbitantly high cost Islamic Development Bank led consortium financing of US \$ 1.5 billion amongst others. It is a matter of calculation that the addition of \$ 400 million of interest accrued on the new bonds and \$ 7 billion payable on their maturity in the third year will deepen the liquidity crisis making Pakistan's bail out impossible.

And all this is happening because a man called Farooque Leghari let power intoxicate and corrupt him. He dissolved the democratic government leading to a flight of capital forcing the Washington imported Shahid Javed Burki to borrow over \$ 1 billion of expensive debt followed by more expensive borrowing. The PPP government believed in no debt or inexpensive debt. They borrow more at expensive rates. We keep in mind the interest of the toiling masses. They keep in mind the interest of their financial empires.

The last twenty months have only proved what the people learnt during the first PML(N) regime between 1990-93. That some one bred by a military dictator does not have the political training to govern democratically through consensus and compromise. That someone who made his fortune by acquiring Ittefaq Foundries for free through a Martial Law regulation is a greedy self seeker who will barter away the economic security of the Nation to protect his own narrow financial interests. That some one who has defaulted on billions of rupees to public sector banks is a failure. A failure as an individual and a failure as a Businessman. A failed Businessman lacks the ability to create a fair and just business atmosphere for the business and trading communities to compete and thrive. A man who steals taxes and can not show the source of funding for his known assets and presides over an industrial complex of ill-gotten wealth, is a poor example for the youth of our country to follow. Here is a tortured soul driven by fear. The fear that what he has stolen will be recovered. He fights for financial power and

believes he needs political power. Lacking popular support he seeks the last refuge of scoundrels using the sacred name of religion.

A man who has brought disgrace to our country, weakened it, divided it, bankrupted it, demoralized it, destroyed its institutions and given birth to terms such as "Briefcase Judges", "Crore Commanders", "Corrupt Politicians".

A deeply flawed man obsessed with the politics of revenge, the politics of ethnicity, the policies of greed and thuggery.

It is not our destiny to be burdened with the leadership of a man who stole power through a presidential conspiracy. Our destiny is in the hands of the people of Pakistan, renowned lawyers, such as yourself who burn with the zeal to see this great country of ours move forward into the 21st century as part of global community working for the teeming mass of humanity, building global bridges of understanding, ushering in a period of peace, stability, harmony, and prosperity.

The legal community has been in the forefront of the movement for the Rule of Law. At this critical time, a critical responsibility lies on your shoulders to safeguard our future by building up the movement to force Nawaz to quit to pave the way for fresh elections under a neutral interim government of National consensus.

Pakistan: Yesterday, Today & Tomorrow
Winter Tour 1999
January 22, 1999

Honored guests, ladies and gentlemen.

It is a great pleasure to be here in San Francisco, California to speak with you this evening.

As you may know, I am no stranger to America, having spent the four happiest years of my life as a student at Harvard from 1969 to 1973.

It was during those years -- those vibrant years of intellectual exploration, those turbulent years of American political unrest over the War in Vietnam -- that I came to fully understand the power of people to change policy and of the inevitable triumph of democracy over repression.

Possibly the greatest strength to America, as seen through these eyes of the East, is the extraordinary diversity of its people and its political system, and its system's remarkable ability to accept that diversity, and thrive on it.

And despite the bewilderment of the current impeachment spectacle, American democracy remains the model to which all nations aspire.

Nowhere is the promise and fulfillment of the democratic dream more true than in this glorious state of California -- one of the greatest and strongest economies on Earth, with a unique entrepreneurial spirit, the home to the technological and information revolution which has transformed our world over the last two decades.

California is a model of what the new global community can be, as we approach the turn of the millennium, as we reach for a new and different future for all mankind.

It is in these visits to America that I am so often reminded of the possibilities that exist for the developing world - and the potential of their people.

With each visit here, I take home with me new energy, a stronger conviction towards democratic ideals, and a renewed sense of faith in the ability for the people of Pakistan, and for that matter all over the world, to thrive on diversity, to accept differences among people, to grow with pluralism and democracy, and to guarantee a good life, rich with opportunity and choice.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As all people across the world prepare, only for the second time in recorded history, for the crossing of one millennium into another, it is a time to take stock of where we have been, where we are now, and where we are going.

I wish to answer these questions from the perspective of my homeland, Pakistan, a land of promise and hope, but also of frustration and contradiction.

Let me share with you my thoughts on Pakistan at the crossroads.

Pakistan's Islamic history began long ago with the arrival of Arabs in the 8th century to Sindh.

From here they spread Islam across India which then came under Muslim rule for nearly a thousand years.

Nearly ten centuries later, British traders followed in the footsteps of the Arabs arriving on the shores of the Sub-continent, attracted by its vast markets and great wealth.

The advent of the British traders eventually gave birth to British rule in the Sub-continent.

The British ruled for 200 years but by the early 20th century, South Asian leaders began agitating for a greater degree of autonomy.

The Muslims of Undivided India wanted a separate homeland of the own where they could live free from the fear of religious discrimination.

On March 23, 1940, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, formally called for the creation of an independent state.

The movement for the partition of India on the basis of religion had begun. Just 7 short years later it culminated in victory when the British acceded to the demands of Pakistan.

However, the Muslim princely state of Jammu and Kashmir was denied the right of self-determination. India occupied it by force. It remains a flash point of conflict till this day. Soon after Independence, the founder of Pakistan died. Shortly thereafter his close colleague Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan was mysteriously assassinated in the first of many intrigues that were to dominate Pakistan in the years to follow.

Shorn of civilian leaders of stature, Pakistan plunged into military dictatorship and despotism.

It was not until 1971, after the country's civil war that split the nation and allowed the formation of Bangladesh, that our country began its first steps towards a modern democratic nation.

My father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, founder of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), became the President in 1971 while I was an undergraduate in America.

He moved decisively to restore national confidence and pursued a liberal domestic policy to ensure a more enlightened society. In 1973, he drafted a new constitution and relinquished the presidency to become Prime Minister.

While my father governed the country, I completed my education going from Harvard to Oxford University, where I studied politics, philosophy and economics.

By the time I returned to Pakistan in 1977, I hoped to pursue a career in the Foreign Service.

But circumstances soon unfolded that would dictate the path of the rest of my life and change the direction of the future of my country.

Within one week of my return from Oxford, a military coup toppled the elected democratic government of my father.

Tanks surrounded our house.

We did not know if we would live or die, if we would survive to see the dawn of the next day's sun.

A brutal, dictator had overturned a free and fair election, imposed martial law, and suspended all constitutional rights.

My father was arrested, released, re-arrested and finally hanged.

Our party was targeted. Our leaders were murdered, tortured, imprisoned.

The lucky ones went into exile.

I myself spent nearly six years in prison or solitary confinement, on the edges of illness and despair.

Finally, released by the power of world opinion, I devoted my life to mobilizing the cause of Pakistani democracy around the world, and keeping the flame of hope burning within my battered homeland.

When elections were held in November of 1988, my party was swept into office and I was sworn in as the first Muslim woman to head a government anywhere in the world.

I was 35 years old.

I was the only woman in history to be elected to head a government in the Islamic world.

I was the youngest elected leader in the world. I was also a wife and the mother of a baby son.

The government I led immediately embarked on an ambitious program of political liberalization, an end to press censorship, legalization of trade unions, a commitment to the long neglected social sector with emphasis on education, health delivery and women's rights, and macroeconomic reform.

We were not vindictive to those who drained our country of our character and of our values.

As I said at the time, "democracy is the best revenge."

However, members of the religious parties and conservative minded segments of the public embarked on a mission to create a religious frenzy against the newly elected government.

Pamphlets were distributed claiming it was the religious duty of the people in the country to assassinate me, as I was a woman who had usurped a man's place in an Islamic society.

Every Friday, from the mosques, sermons were given inciting the people to overthrow the government.

And although my opponents fulminated, calling me an Indian agent and an Israeli agent, the people supported me.

Despite the peoples support, after just 20 months, the entrenched Establishment that had supported the dictatorship, that had refused to bow to the people's will, toppled my government, acting under the cover and distraction of Saddam's invasion of Kuwait.

The allegations, as they always are in Pakistan and in South Asia, was government corruption.

But, even under a judicial system dominated by the entrenched autocratic Establishment, we were exonerated of all charges.

My party did not lose its faith in me, nor did I lose my faith in politics or the people of my country.

As the economy and social structure of Pakistan deteriorated, and human and civil rights were cast aside by a repressive regime, Pakistan edged close to anarchy.

Only three years after the coup against me, I was re-elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan.

In reflection, I realized that being a leader in a large developing country that had been stifled by the forces of dictatorship was difficult in itself.

But being a woman made the task even more formidable.

I faced greater challenges than I could have ever imagined.

It is not easy being a woman in Pakistan, or for that matter anywhere in the world today.

Moreover, for women leaders, the obstacles are greater, the demands are greater, the barriers are greater, and the double standards are greater.

And ultimately, the expectations of those who look at us as role models are greater as well.

For all women, it is critical that we succeed.

Unfortunately, there are still many people out there who would just as soon have us fail, to reinforce their myopic stereotypes restricting the role of women.

I recall with great empathy the words of Baroness Margaret Thatcher, who once said:

"If a woman is tough, she is pushy. If a man is tough, gosh, he's a great leader."

How often, in Pakistan, in North America, all over the world, we have heard characterizations of women in politics as pushy, as aggressive, as cunning, as shrewd, as strident.

These words, if applied to men in politics, would be badges of honour!

Those of us who have chosen to serve in business, government and other professional careers have broken new ground.

We have broken glass ceilings, we have broken the stereotypes, and we have been and continue to be prepared to go the extra mile, to be judged by unrealistic standards, to be held more accountable.

Therefore, women leaders have to outperform, outdistance and out manage men at every level.

We should not shrink from this responsibility, we should welcome it.

Welcome it on behalf of women all over the world, in cities and rural villages and in the great universities.

For all who have suffered before, and for all who come after us, we are privileged to be in this special position, in this special time, with unique opportunities to change our countries, our continents, to change the world...and inevitably change the future.

I recall the vivid images of Dante's Divine Comedy and his characterization that "the hottest place in hell is reserved for those who remain neutral at times of moral crisis."

This is not the time for neutrality or inaction.

The special demands of this extraordinary historical moment require great action from men and women of great vision and courage.

When we began our second term, we were pitted against a precarious economic scenario.

The country was on the verge of bankruptcy.

We moved urgently, made difficult decisions, sometimes-unpopular decisions, to restore solvency and create a macroeconomic framework that would allow Pakistan to compete in the world and attract foreign investment to help jump-start our moribund economy.

Increasing tax collection, imposing new taxes on critical segments of our economy, including the politically potent agricultural feudal landowners, was good policy.

But it was not very good politics.

As in Eastern and Central Europe, the bitter pills necessary to put the economy on sound footing called for by the World Bank and IMF caused real pain to the people of my country.

Despite the political costs incurred, our restoration of macroeconomic stability was an outstanding achievement by any yardstick.

When my government assumed management of the economy in 1993, the country's growth rate rested at a dismal 2%. We tripled that to 6% in three short years.

We were able to reduce our fiscal deficit three points in three years, from 8% to 5% of GDP. And we were able to double our tax revenue from 7% to 14% of GDP.

As a measure of the success of our program, we attracted more than \$26 billion in direct foreign investment into Pakistan – much of it from the US.

During my visit to Washington, the President of the EXIM Bank expressed his support of our policies.

The losing firm in a privatization project wrote praising the transparency of our privatization process.

We paid off \$1 billion of our debt and reduced it to 40% of GDP.

We determined as one of our highest priorities that we had to rebuild the infrastructure of our nation if we were to become an economic leader of our region and of the world in the new century.

In providing a big-push to infrastructure development, our primary target was the energy sector.

The World Bank called our energy infrastructure program a model to the entire developing world.

And we brought our energy revolution directly to the people of Pakistan by electrifying over 18,000 villages in our rural areas.

Our government built ten thousand kilometers of roads over the past three years.

We built 100,000 houses per year for the needy and deserving.

We provided proper sewage facilities to 95% of our urban.

And during the PPP Government's term from 1993 to 1996, we made real changes with tangible consequences to affect the lives of every day Pakistanis.

We succeeded in building over 30,000 primary schools for our children, and recruited 53,000 new teachers, 70% of who were women.

As a woman and mother, I was particularly concerned about the conditions of health for the children of Pakistan.

Approximately 50 million child deaths are predicted in South Asia over the next decade.

Of that astounding number, 30 million are avoidable if the countries of the region embark on serious health education and health delivery programs.

In order to promote mother and child health care, primary health care and nutrition, 50,000 village health and family planning workers were trained to provide services specifically geared to the needs of women and children.

Our work in family planning alone was responsible for a dramatic drop in Pakistani fertility rates during my tenure as Prime Minister. Pakistan's population growth rate came down from 3.1% to 2.6%.

The Vice President of the United States said my speech to the U.N. Conference in Cairo was the catalyst for the world community finally coming together on family planning issues.

My government embarked an ambitious and comprehensive effort to immunize the children of Pakistan from a host of child hood diseases that have been brought under control in other parts of the world.

I wondered, "how many potential Nobel Prize winners will be among the 30 million avoidable deaths?

How many great authors will never live to write their novels and poetry?

How many prospective great scientists, women and men who might go on to cure AIDS, to conquer cancer, to prevent strokes, will be among the thirty million children who could very well die if we do not act now?"

My government increased health expenditures by 60%. The World Health Organization gave me a gold medal (the only Pakistani leader to receive one) in recognition of the government's services in health.

When I became Prime Minister in 1993, one in five children born with polio in the world was in Pakistan.

We were determined to end this dreadful statistic and launched our anti-polio campaign.

My own one-year old daughter was at the heart of the campaign as I fed her and other children polio drops twice yearly to launch the campaign.

We did it with the help of Rotary International. The Rotarians did a great job in reaching out across the continents to help raise funds.

Intensely concerned about the problem of child labor in certain areas of our economy, most notably in the production of carpets and soccer balls, we cracked down on child labor.

We made education compulsory, knowing that if children are in schools, they cannot be in factories.

We ordered local authorities to raid businesses employing children.

Over 7000 such raids we conducted between January 1995 and March 1996 alone.

Over 2,500 employers were prosecuted and many convicted, fined and imprisoned for violating child labor laws.

To protect women in society, we established special women's police forces and women's courts, to hear with understanding and sympathy cases of domestic violence and domestic abuse.

Courts and police forces for women, staffed by women.

Our television ran a government sponsored program against domestic violence, and we took the step of signing the CEDAW, the Convention for the elimination of discrimination against women.

We established women's banks designed to help women start small businesses.

All through this intense period of macroeconomic reform, privatization, infrastructure renewal, and an enormous commitment to the education, health and labor social sectors of Pakistan, I was guided by the philosophy and the words of an American President -- Abraham Lincoln -- who said 100 years before I was born:

“The legitimate object of government, is to do for a community of people, whatever they need to have done, but cannot do, at all or cannot do so well, for themselves -- in their separate and individual capacities.

In all that the people can do for themselves, government ought not to interfere.”

I have attempted, throughout my career, to combine the best of many cultures, the richness of disparate experiences, to build for our people the ability to compete and thrive in the challenging new technological era.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Introducing the world of modern communication into Pakistan was one of the goals of my party.

We heralded the information revolution by introducing fax machines, digital pagers, optic fiber, cellular telephones, satellite dishes, Internet, the e-mail and even CNN into Pakistan.

It was a miraculous transformation of a society, a transformation that cannot be negated by disinformation and personal attacks on me.

What we accomplished -- concretely and specifically -- is my legacy to the people of Pakistan.

We opened up education, and we opened up markets

We opened up opportunity and we opened up foreign investment.

We opened economic development and opened up our rural villages.

Above all, we opened minds.

We opened up individual choice.

Although the forces of the past once again conspired to bring down our elected government two years before our term was complete, history will be the final judge.

Already, the camouflage of corruption used against my government on November 4th, 1996, while the world was once again distracted -- this time by the American presidential election -- has been exposed.

Not one case of corruption has been proved against my family or myself in the two years since the President ordered the military to surround the Prime Minister's House and ordered them to arrest my family and associates.

Not a single case to substantiate their unilateral assault on democracy.

My husband is held prisoner, a hostage to my political career.

The current regime in Pakistan blatantly violates the law, refuses to allow dissidents to speak openly and freely, and beats, tortures, and imprisons its opponents.

The goal of the regime is quite obvious -- to establish a one-party dictatorship in Pakistan. They stand perilously close.

Only I and others in the opposition stand in their way.

If the goals of those in power, those who supported military dictatorship in the past, is to keep my party out of politics, to keep us from speaking out on issues that we care strongly about, no amount of intimidation or coercion can shake our commitment to democracy and to our country.

My husband shares my decision.

For those of us who fought and died for democracy and freedom in Pakistan, the return of a fascist, one-man dictatorship is painful beyond comprehension.

Today, Pakistan is a very different place.

The new fascist regime has already banned popular music on television in Pakistan, calling it decadent.

It has suspended the Assembly in the second largest province of Pakistan and established military courts for summary trials.

Already two people have been hanged after summary trials.

Acts of terrorism are a daily occurrence.

The military has been dispatched to collect water bills and check electricity meters.

As the military steps in to fill the vacuum created by the collapse of institutions Pakistan's fragile democratic structures are further undermined.

Fear, frustration and demoralization are the order of the day.

Under one man, one family rule, civil institutions have collapse.

And while the regime concentrates on political vendetta, the country heads toward economic collapse.

The situation is worsening every minute.

Since I left office the deficit has risen by 3%, investments have fallen, the regime has defaulted on payments to international lending institutions, corporations and even airlines, tax collections are frozen, the growth rate is down to 2% and the rupee has been shrinking in value.

Nearly 100,000 people have lost their jobs.

In just six months, in just one province, 86 people committed suicide because of hunger and lack of employment.

Tragically, one mother killed herself and two of her children because she could not feed them.

Foreign accounts have been frozen, making it all but impossible for international commerce to proceed.

In the pursuit of vendetta, governance has been neglected. Pakistan, once again, is viewed by the international community as an unstable society with an inhospitable economic environment, causing private investment to flee.

It is painful for me in Pakistan, but it is the people of Pakistan who have suffered the most.

A government sponsored mob, attacked the Supreme Court of Pakistan, forcing the Chief Justice to flee the courtroom.

Newspapers, critical of the regime, have had their offices raided and their employees threatened with cases of financial impropriety.

A woman shopping at a marketplace in the city of Karachi had her arms slashed for wearing a short sleeved dress.

Parliamentarians have been baton-charged by police, some requiring hospitalization because of head injuries.

And now, the Nawaz Regime is seeking to undermine Pakistan's constitution through passage of a bill cloaked in Religion with the purpose of concentrating all powers in the hands of the Prime Minister, who will have the power to "prescribe what is right and what is wrong."

The right of individual choice, of individual freedoms is under assault even as I speak to you today.

Once again, a Pakistani dictator is trying to exploit Islam to protect himself politically.

He is attempting destroy democracy and replace it with religious fanaticism.

A move my party and I are resisting vigorously.

We did not come this far to be silent.

We did not come this far to fail.

And that is why, despite the persecution, I am determined not to let down those who believe in a democratic, modern, moderate, liberal Pakistan.

Ladies and gentlemen,

This is not the time for neutrality or inaction.

The special demands of this extraordinary historical moment require great action from men and women of great vision and courage.

In that regard, I cannot but be uplifted and empowered by the accord signed last spring in Belfast on Good Friday to end the conflagration in Northern Ireland.

We hope that the path to reconciliation in Northern Ireland through honest mediation by the world's sole superpower can be repeated in other areas of the world where the problems look equally intractable, equally impossible, but where men and women of good, will look beyond fear and loathing to reconciliation and resolution.

If Northern Ireland can be settled, why not a new initiative to save the frozen peace process in the Middle East.

If Northern Ireland can be resolved, cannot the world turn its attention to the horrors in Kosovo before Kosovo becomes another Bosnian genocide?

If Northern Ireland can be settled, why not a new and credible initiative to bring India, Pakistan, and the Kashmiris together to finally resolve the Kashmir issue.

An issue which hangs like a sword of Damocles across not only South Asia, but the entire world.

Three wars over Kashmir have wrought devastation in its path. Today, 600,000 troops hold the people of Kashmir hostage. Fighting continues everyday at the Line of Control.

When I was Prime Minister, I proposed initiative after initiative to limit the nuclear arms race in South Asia.

I proposed that the region become a nuclear-weapons-free zone.

But last May, defying world public opinion and defying common sense, India detonated five nuclear weapons, provoking Pakistan to follow-suit.

Two arch- rivals, sharing a dangerous and unstable border, who had gone to war four times in fifty years and who had a huge and dangerous unresolved issue in Kashmir, suddenly now faced each other with nuclear weapons, potentially soon to be fixed on ballistic missiles.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Those of us in South Asia who believe in peace, who believe in freedom look towards the international community to do whatever is necessary to have Pakistan and India step back from the precipice.

Signing the CTBT is a solid and necessary first step, one I have been proposing in Pakistan since detonation.

But even more fundamental is removing the impetus for war -- commencing a dialogue on Kashmir that will allow for a resolution provided for under United Nation's Security Council resolutions.

Nuclear India and Nuclear Pakistan have a special responsibility, to the mothers and children of South Asia, to the larger human family in the world we share, to move in the direction of peace.

I would like to see India and Pakistan take the steps necessary to defuse tension in South Asia.

I would like to see India and Pakistan move with the global community on an agenda of non-proliferation.

And yes, I would like to see Pakistan free itself from India phobia by embarking on a foreign policy free of the "tit-for-tat" response that governed the last 50 years of our history.

A nuclear war is too horrific a consequence for Pakistan or South Asia to contemplate. The arms race between India and Pakistan has crossed the boundaries of rationalization.

We, the people, must assert ourselves in putting an end to a military race out of synchronization with a world of global trade and finance.

The tension between Pakistan and India over Kashmir is not the only issue threatening peace in South Asia.

The situation with Afghanistan, and between Afghanistan and Iran, must be addressed.

Let us be frank with each other.

It is a cruel irony of the Cold War that last August's American tomahawk attacks at training camps in Afghanistan were targeted at a compound built by the CIA, and a Mujahadeen leader trained and funded by the CIA.

Only two decades earlier, the United States had made a military decision to arm and strengthen the fiercest fighters in the Afghan resistance as Soviet troops marched into Kabul -- many of whom belonged to extremist religious groups.

And when the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989, the West turned its attention away leaving a dangerous political vacuum in the region.

Indeed in the decade since the Soviets withdrew in 1989, the people of Afghanistan have not seen a single day of peace.

The extremists, who were so emboldened by the West during the eighties, are now exporting their terrorism to other parts of the world.

And now, the recipients of the West's support and largesse have turned their venom against their benefactors.

In light of the recent and destabilizing events in South Asia, including the Kashmir issue, the nuclear arms race and the new instability posed by the tensions around Afghanistan and Iran, it is more important than ever that Pakistan remain a stable and moderate member of the international community.

Unfortunately, the present regime in Pakistan, lacking the support of the people, is in no position to address these vital issues.

Driven by insecurity, the regime in Pakistan is seeking refuge in Religion as the path of its salvation.

Tensions, extremism, and nuclear pyrotechnics.

This is the sad state of life in Pakistan as the last embers of the second millennium begin to fade into the dawn of the new millennium.

This is dangerous for Pakistan, for South Asia, for all Muslim Nations, and for the world at large.

Ladies and gentlemen, our generation stands at the doorway of history.

Not only the doorway of a new century, but the doorway of a new millennium.

The entire world community, and specifically the United States, has a fundamental strategic interest in events in the Muslim World.

All across the world, in the Middle East, in Southwest Asia, in Southeast Asia, in Africa, one billion Muslims are at the crossroads.

They must choose between progressivism and fundamentalism.

They must choose between education and ignorance.

They must choose between the force of the new technologies and the forces of the old repression.

Thus, one billion Muslims must choose between past and future.

The United States must do everything within its power to insure that progressive, pluralistic Muslim countries like Pakistan are in a position to serve as models to the entire Islamic world.

This is not the time for the United States to turn its back on the people of Pakistan, democracy in Pakistan, the strategic importance of an enlightened Pakistan in the coming millennium.

This is particularly true because of the importance Pakistan plays on the continent of Asia.

As great American Senator, Barbara Mikulski of Maryland, recently said, "demography is destiny." And if demography is destiny, the future belongs to Asia.

In terms of demographics, in terms of production, in terms of consumption, in terms of markets, in terms of an expanding capitol intensive middle class, the Asian continent will set the tone, set the pace, and dominate the economic and geopolitical exigencies of the coming era.

It is up to us -- all of us -- to determine the moral parameters of that new era -- the coming decade, the coming century, the coming millennium.

In less than a year, we will witness only for the third time in recorded history the momentous turning of the millennium.

Where and what will we be, at that extraordinary moment, when the huge ball drops and the year 2000 lights up the winter sky?

Will we be prisoners of the mind-set of the past, or will we be liberated to the endless possibilities of an historic future?

Our generation, the first in recorded history, is fundamentally empowered with the control of its own destiny.

The chains of the past -- colonialism, ignorance, dictatorship and sexism -- are broken.

The world has finally accepted, in the words of Robert Browning, that "Ignorance is not innocence, but sin."

I see a Third Millennium of bold choice and miraculous opportunity.

I see a Third Millennium where the gap between rich and poor states evaporates, where illiteracy and hunger and malnutrition are conquered.

I see a Third Millennium where human rights are universal, and self-determination unabridged anywhere on the planet.

I see a Third Millennium where civil dialogue is restored, where consensus and comity once again guide the national and international debate.

I see a Third Millennium where people's trust in government is restored, and government gets on with the business of addressing the pressing needs of the people.

I see a Third Millennium where every child is planned, wanted, nurture and supported.

I see a Third Millennium of tolerance and pluralism, where people respect other people, and religions respect other religions.

I see a Third Millennium of equal rights for women and men, where the birth a girl child is welcomed with the same joy as the birth of a boy.

This is the Third Millennium I see for my country -- and for yours. For my children, and for yours.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

First Indo-Pak Parliamentarians Conference
Islamabad, February 13, 1999

Fellow Parliamentarians,

We meet at a time of hope, but also a time of despair. A time of opportunity, but also a time of peril. A time of change, but still a time of intractability.

Ladies and Gentlemen

South Asia has been far too long a region teetering on the edge of catastrophe.

For fifty years, we have been at each other's throats. We have fought four wars, and the last war dismembered my nation. Our troops, as we speak, fire at each other in the frozen wasteland called Siachen, which has become a metaphor for the senselessness that we have allowed to continue for half a century.

With the newly awakened nuclear capabilities of India and Pakistan, and what appears to be a deployment race well underway, we can ill-afford the luxury of ignoring the roots of our deep distrust towards each other.

It is conventional wisdom that the roots of the Indo-Pak conflict, or more specifically, the enmity Muslims and Hindus are centuries old.

That is a strange notion.

For as many years that India and Pakistan have been at war, for many more centuries our cultures have lived in peaceful co-existence.

Our cultures were, and still are, necessary threads weaving the unique and vibrant cloth called South Asia.

Ladies and Gentlemen

National and world politics in the first half of the 20th Century was driven by geo-strategic considerations, military-territorial considerations. The great empires of the Romans, Arabs, and the British rose on territorial conquest fueled by military strength. Fantastic economical-rewards awaited victorious conquerors in the form of booty, cheap labour and captive markets. The European Colonialism was rooted in this psychology spread over thousands of years. It concluded when the Yalta Agreement was signed between the Big Three. The Cold War era then dawned. However the collapse of the Soviet Union, brought a fundamentally new global system.

It is exciting living at a time of dramatic change in history where military-territorial supremacy dissipates as the era of economic-technological supremacy dawns.

New World Order

History springs from one side of the pendulum to another. With the end of the Cold War, we are back to the world where global politics was driven by economic considerations, where markets are the yardstick by which the power, size and influence of Nations will be judged.

Will we, the people of South Asia, be prisoners of the past or will we be able to rise to a magnificent future?

The collapse of military-territorial superpower, the Soviet Union the rise of Germany, Japan, (South Korea Taiwan, Singapore) sent a powerful message to our generation. Brute military/territorial strength alone (like the Soviet Union) could not save it from disintegration and economic collapse. Germany, Japan and the NIC's rose without military-territorial strength to become economic superpowers. We are eye-witnesses to a New World Order based upon free commerce and trade. A nation's success is measured by its ability to develop products, ideas to sell in the global marketplace, which is open to all. It is based on the quality of goods and services and global demand-supply factors. Suddenly it is possible for tiny Singapore, with a tiny territorial and population base, a quarter of Karachi or Bombay, and a virtually non-existent military base, to become an economic giant, equal to the First World Countries in the quality of life it affords to its citizens.

Rules of the Game

The new rules of the game are that a nation upholds the principles of democracy, the rule of law, guarantees basic freedom and liberties to its citizens, allows free trade and a market driven economy with minimal state intervention, with a policy of non-intervention and mutual respect in inter-state relations. The concern of the state in inter-state relations is also driven by considerations of trade and commerce (again following the Japanese model), rather than by military - territorial considerations.

A nation which lives in the past, bases its thinking on the old paradigm of military-territorial strength, perishes in the New World Order and is treated as a pariah state (e.g. Russia, Yugoslavia, and most recently Iraq).

The success of a Nation, as we head towards a new century, a new millenium, is based upon the level of exports, hard currency reserves, its per capita GNP, and certainly not its territory, military strength, or population base. The pace in the race for economic success has become so competitive, that even First World former superpower nations such as Britain, France and Germany, felt unable to compete individually with today's economic giants, the U.S. and Japan.

The GNP of America is (US\$ 8 trillion) and of Japan (US\$ 5 trillion). Only after combining the 10 'First World' European economies, the combined EC GNP can compete (at US\$ 7 trillion).

The desire for the creation of 'super-economic zones' like the EC, was driven by Britain, France and Germany seeking to effectively compete economically with the economic superpowers namely the United States and Japan. The US, in turn rushed to form NAFTA and APEC as an economic reply to the EC.

All this is accomplished, without a single bullet being fired, with no military adventures or conquests, and yet huge territories, nations and populations peacefully agreed to redefine their economic borders, and to co-exist with each other in the better interests of their future well being. The EC's formation is truly a model case of the new paradigm, where economically we enter an increasingly Borderless World while maintaining our national 'sovereignty'. The EC members states 'pooled' their economic sovereignty in creating a free trade zone and a common currency, thus submerging their narrow national interests for the greater good of the whole European Community. Meanwhile, at the other extreme, a closed nation, closed by sanctions or voluntarily, such as Libya, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia and Sudan suffered economically even when they had huge oil reserves and a tiny population.

Ladies and Gentlemen

If we close our borders and live in the past, our region risks suffering a similar fate to the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and other such countries.

The Population Bomb

Our two nations are now home to nearly one-fifth of the total human population. The United Nations currently estimates the entire human population to be just shy of six billion people.

Given current rates of population growth, by the year 2015, our two nations combined population will surpass the population of China.

As our populations grow, so too must our capacity to manage precious natural resources.

The path to resolving our conflict lies within these unsettling figures and how we address the very real daily problems of population growth, economic opportunity, healthcare, education and stewardship of our environment.

South Asia - A House Divided

But our conflict also reflects dynamics akin to a large and unruly family. In the final analysis, South Asia is a house, but a house divided.

The history of humankind clearly shows that brothers can have the greatest love for each other, but are also capable of the most venomous hatred and spite.

So it is in the Middle East between the Jews and the Arabs.

So it is in Ireland between the Catholics and the Protestants.

So it is in the former Yugoslavia between the Muslims and the Serbs.

So it is in the horn of Africa between the Ethiopians and the Eritreans.

Within our South Asian house, we are no different. We are warring South Asian brothers and sisters.

Personally, both my grand parents lived in the area around present Mumbai (or Bombay). Our ancestral homes remain there today. In the registers of Ajmer Sharif and Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, you can see the signatures of my ancestors.

Indo-Pak enmity denied me the opportunity to see my grand parents home, to offer prayers at grandmother's grave, or my aunt Benazir after whom I am named or to take my children to a place that is a part of their history.

Will I be able to do so? Will our generation have the chance to build peace or will we become another Soviet Union, with the largest land mass territory in the world, encompassing two continents, an advanced space programme, enough nuclear warheads and ballistic missiles to destroy the whole world, and a 'superpower' status, ultimately ending up having to beg for food from the EC to feed its population? Ultimately having to ask (relatively) 'tiny' Japan, with no military might, for economic aid?

Ladies and Gentlemen

This is a turning point in history, a different place from 50 years ago. We can strut around the stage pretending we are great powers in the world. Reality tells us that the Russian giant nation is considered an economic minnow today, with even tiny Singapore better off than Russia. 'Giant' India or Pakistan, with all our nuclear bravado, need to face the reality that we are economic pygmies on the

world stage, and have a population base of 1.3 billion of the world's poorest people, with the worst standard of living.

Once we understand these objective facts, we can address the problem and find the solutions.

Foreign Policy

Ladies and Gentlemen

In this final year of the second millennium, it is time not only to take stock but to take action, not only to plan for dialogue but to engage in dialogue, not only to talk peace but to make peace?

Could there be any more fitting denouement to the second millennium than a peaceful resolution to the Indo-Pakistan dispute? I think not.

But if we are to proceed, it will take courage and leadership on behalf of our governments. For, in the words of the philosopher Spinoza, "peace is not mere absence of war, but is a virtue that springs from force of character."

The Nuclear Crisis

We are today in perhaps the most unsettling and dangerous situation since partition itself: a full-blown nuclear race.

I am convinced that none of us know the true horrors of these weapons, nor the devastation nuclear weapons can inflict upon our people when used.

None of us have truly comprehended the dire consequences of a nuclear and ballistic arms race in our land.

With our close knit ecological systems, weather patterns, and dense populations, one nuclear explosion on either side of the border would have the most tragic of consequences for all.

Entering the nuclear arena requires a wisdom and a patience from leaders that, to date, none of us have shown much of.

I admit, I too, in my two terms followed the path of hawkishness.

But that was before India and Pakistan shook the World with their nuclear blasts and brought forward many questions specifically on these weapons of mass destruction. I ask our current leaders:

Do we have adequate controls over these dangerous weapons?

Have we built clear-cut lines of communications between those who watch these weapons, and those who would decide for their use?

In this new nuclear era, we, Pakistan and India, no longer have the luxury to ignore our suspicions, our mistrust and our foreign policy misadventures.

Both of our nations must step forward cognizant of our political realities.

Both of our nations must step forward, understanding the threat to our people, our region, and the entire world, and declare South Asia a nuclear free and missile free zone.

Today I call upon India and Pakistan to jointly or singly:

1. adhere quickly to the CTBT Treaty
2. a moratorium on fissile material production
3. resist the development, flight testing and storage of ballistic weapons;
4. strengthen export control on nuclear technology

Ladies and Gentlemen

We must step forth and together change the direction of history

On Kashmir

Ladies and Gentlemen

All of our problems, all of our disputes, all of our disagreements can be resolved quickly to mutual satisfaction if we address the question of Jammu and Kashmir.

Yes I know that some in India say this is an internal matter that Kashmir is as much a part of India as Texas is of the United States.

I have heard this before. In fact, I have heard it all my life. And I know better. The issue of Jammu and Kashmir is a problem that has brought us to war before and could very well bring us to war again, this time with the most catastrophic

consequences.

In India, extremists say never, no compromise.

In Pakistan, extremists say never, no compromise.

The stakes, my friends, are much too high to let our policy be driven by our political margins. It is time that our policy be driven by reason, and by our commitment to our children's future.

There must be a resolution of the Jammu-Kashmir problem that accounts for the political sensitivities and political desires of the people of that princely state. It is not useful to hear about what a Maharaja did fifty years ago, or where an army attacked, or another army counterattacked. The fact remains that Jammu and Kashmir is a largely Muslim state, between two nations that were created in a religious partition.

The fact remains that the people of Jammu and Kashmir are politically alienated and disaffected.

The fact remains that an intifida has raged on the ground, and continues as we speak.

The fact remains that Jammu and Kashmir is the densest and largest militarily occupied territory on earth.

And the fact remains that over fifty thousand people have been killed, thousands of women raped, thousands of children kidnapped never to be seen again, scores of villages wiped from the face of the earth.

It is a record that cannot make you proud, and a record that causes us the greatest pain.

No process leading to the fair and equitable resolution of the fifty-year Kashmir conflict can move forward, however, without concrete steps by both Pakistan and India.

The Simla Agreement recognizes this.

On India's part, there are a number of confidence-building measures that could be taken immediately, including:

- A dramatic reduction of the nearly 600,000 troops now stationed in Kashmir.
- Ceasing all forms of torture, intimidation and extra-judicial killings.
- Opening Jammu-Kashmir to monitoring by international human rights groups.

Ultimately we would like to see India begin dialogue with the All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC). Likewise, for my part, I will vigorously pursue the following initiatives in Pakistan:

1. Dialogue with India for open borders between Azad Kashmir and Jammu and Kashmir as a prelude to open borders between all of South Asia.
2. Talks for mutual Arms reduction and redeployment of Forces.

I recall that after the end of the Second World War, President Harry Truman faced a dilemma. Europe was in physical and economic shambles. The Soviet Union had engulfed eastern and central Europe and threatened Greece, Turkey, Italy, even France. Obviously, the burden was on the United States to lead in the economic reconstruction of Europe and the political and military containment of communism.

But the American people would have no part of it. Their sons and daughters had spent four years saving Europe, and the American people had had enough. They wanted to return home, build their houses, have their children, and raise their families. They wanted to turn inward.

But Harry Truman was a leader. Despite public opinion polls that showed only 15% support for a massive U.S. engagement in Europe, he created the Marshall Plan and the NATO alliance, and then went out to his people and day by day, month by month, sold the necessity to a skeptical electorate. He convinced them. He convinced a Congress controlled by the opposition, and he ultimately was re-elected. And the programs that he initiated structured foreign policy for forty years, ultimately resulting in the destruction of the Berlin Wall and the triumph of democracy and the free market.

Why do I relate these points of history, now fifty years later? Because, ladies and gentlemen, it is this kind of foresight and courage which is required now, by leaders in both Pakistan and India, to begin a process of constructive dialogue and conflict resolution and hopefully consensus building. Extremists on both sides of our border might resist, but the masses of our people are looking for compromise. Our people want peace even if they cheer and scream when they are egged on by demagogues with the rhetoric of war.

So let us begin.

I recall quite vividly that the problems of the Middle East were viewed as intractable, unsolvable by men and women of less than grand vision, until Anwar Sadaat broke open the debate by bold action, and began a process that is still unfolding. Like in the dispute between India and Pakistan, the dispute between the Israelis and the Arab nations was manageable and addressable when, and only when, the core issue - the issue of the political rights of the people of Palestine -- was successfully addressed. And President Sadaat and Prime Minister Begin won the Nobel Prize for Peace.

I recall vividly that the problems of Northern Ireland were viewed as intractable and irreconcilable by men and women of limited vision, until John Hume, David Trimble, Bill Clinton and George Mitchell restructured the debate, resulting in the extraordinary Good Friday peace treaty which we all pray, Inshallah, will lead to a final peace on that troubled, divided island. And the two men who risked the most, and fought the hardest -- Mr. Hume and Mr. Trimble -- won the Nobel Prize for Peace.

I recall vividly that few on earth ever thought we would live to see the day that South Africa would flourish under democracy, and the dreaded cancer of apartheid would be radiated from the body politic. But justice prevailed, and leaders with political vision and courage prevailed. And Nelson Mandela became the President of a United South Africa, a black and white South Africa. And the two leaders who made that possible, President Mandela and President DeKlerk, won the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Ladies and gentlemen, in Oslo, there is another set of Nobel Prizes that wait to be awarded to people of courage, to true leaders. They are reserved for leaders of peace in India and Pakistan.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and I took significant steps to promote peace between 1988-90:

1. We signed non-attack on each other's nuclear facilities
2. We had a defense Secretaries agreement for a settlement in Siachin
3. We expanded the trade list between our two countries.
4. We exchanged delegations on the Wullar Barrage issue.
5. We explored the Sir Creek matter.

But then he called for elections and death took him away before he could return to office.

It was at that time - December 1988 - that the other SAARC countries accepted the proposals of a world's youngest elected chief executive to:

- a). Declare 1989 the year of the Girl child;
- b). Allow Parliamentarians and Judges to visit SAARC countries on a SAARC Pass which required no visa;
- c). Allow for a common SAARC pre-stamped Mailing System so that families could remain easily in touch with each other.

It is time to pick up the threads again

A Shared Past to Build the Future

The South Asian region encompassing Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka, has a common and shared history. We speak the same language. Our colour is the same. Our thinking, values, pre-47 history and culture is the same. We have a multi-religious society with Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees, Buddhists, and others. Each in our countries believe in freedom of religion, in safety and security resisting outside coercion or intervention. In Dubai, Singapore, or London, a representative sample of the entire gamut of our population and religious spectrum has learnt to co-exist peacefully. The post nuclear era in the sub-continent calls upon us to define a new paradigm and a new set of rules for the game in South Asia.

New Rules for South Asia

The essence of the new paradigm for South Asia is to organize government and economic affairs in a manner which delivers the maximum progress to the regional population in the shortest period of time, with the least wastage in resources.

The fastest route to economic development and growth for our suffering people is the generation of critical economic mass through formation of larger ' economic free zones'. Unless South Asia pulls itself out of the quagmire of poverty, prejudice and the past to change, our people will remain slaves in the global economy carrying out menial low paying tasks for the rich citizens of the First World. Our nations are faced with the choice: either continue as warring sovereign states who continue to carry the "Third World" label for the next 100 years, or pool our resources to create an Asian economic powerhouse comparable to the EC. Should we embark upon the logical route (not necessarily

a forgone conclusion given our history of taking the path of 'greatest' resistance), and decide on pooling economic sovereignty and creating an EC type South Asian economic free zone, then we need to ask: what obvious partners are available for India and Pakistan?

An Asian Free Zone

The disparities in per capita income between India and Asean are too great. China and India are different in per capita income, in GNP, and at different stages of their economic evolution cycles. There are differences too in the economic and legal systems (Capitalists/Communists). Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal are the obvious candidates for India as partners, for these countries:

- (1) have similar per capita income,
- (2) all are in similar stages of their economic development life cycles,
- (3) all share a common legal system based on English Law,
- (4) all have free market based economies,
- (5) all share English as a common language for Government and business,
- (6) all share a common history and culture.

From Pakistan's perspective, the Gulf Arab States (GCC) are a far cry as they yet have to partner with common Arab countries such as Egypt and Syria. ECO (and RCD before that) has yet to take off due to the different historical backgrounds, per capita incomes, and different stages of economic development (with Turkey wooing the EC). Afghanistan and CIS States, are behind Pakistan in their growth cycles, with a host of other problems such as language, legal systems, per capita income, and the fact that the CIS States are bound together under the Russian CIS confederation system. Pakistan cannot economically integrate with China for the same reasons as India. Therefore for Pakistan too the logical choice for a long term EC style partnership, are the South Asian nations.

Had the South Asian nations been Muslim countries, our partnership would have taken place long ago. Yet, if religion was the criteria which bound States together, then Bangladesh would still be East Pakistan and Pakistan would be free of provincialism, sectarianism, and every other kind of 'ism'.

Based on this analysis my recommendation is that in Phase I, the South Asian nations agree to form a free economic zone. This zone could comprise all SAARC countries, plus Iran (or even all the ECO States if they are willing to join). Phase I can conclude in a decade allowing the founding members to reach a critical

phase in their economic development and in their per capita income. In Phase II, China could be included in the Free Zone.

This is a vision of an Asian Free Zone which by 2010 can be in existence with 2.5 to 3 billion people, and with a GNP of US\$ 7 trillion (based upon 1998 'Purchasing Power Parity'). Of this GNP, roughly 2/3 would be China, and 1/3 SAARC States. Our Asian Free Zone could then be at the same level, in GNP terms, as EC, US or Japan.

With roughly 50% of the World's population located in the Asian Zone, this zone in terms of an economic market would have the greatest influence, voice and clout in the 21st Century.

As one of America's Senators, Barbara Mikulski, recently said, "demography is destiny." And if demography is destiny, the future belongs to Asia.

In terms of demographics, in terms of production, in terms of consumption, in terms of markets, in terms of an expanding capital intensive middle class, the Asian continent will set the tone, set the pace, and dominate the economic and geopolitical trends of the coming era.

The states of the 'Asian Free Zone' would be independent sovereign nations on the pattern of the EC sharing (1) a free economic trade zone (2) a common Central Bank with a common trading currency (3) a common security policy and ultimately (4) a common revolving Presidency and Parliament (like the EC Presidency and Parliament) Even the smallest member state, such as Sri Lanka through this cooperation could have a chance to be the President of the 'superpower' Asian Zone.

Principles of the Asian free Zone

Let's see what is considered "In" and what "Out" in the proposed Asian Free Zone:

In	Out
-Free trade	-Protected and closed markets
-Democratic systems down to province/state level with maximum provincial and local rights	-Centralized govt., with limited provincial rights
-Free movement of people	-Closed borders
-Rule of law, guarantee of civil liberties	-Authoritarianism
-Respect of all religions, castes, creeds	-Old religious hatreds
-State is servant and economic facilitator	-State has a 'raja' mentality
-State spends budget on health, education, etc	-State spends budget on defense
-Close cordial & friendly state relations	-Cold war in South Asia
-State creates environment for a new NIC	-State creates environment for a new Russia
-Ultimately aim for the European state model of a supra-structure of independent states	Aim for the Soviet State model domination and hegemony by the Centre

The Future

Ladies and Gentlemen

We are the ones who have to reach to transform our people's future in a single generation. South Asia combined with Iran and China can comprise the largest population concentration region in the World with 2.6 billion people, over 50% of the global population. We can choose to become a super economic zone, enjoying a life style similar to the European people or we can cling on to our Third World status and continue to blame "foreign powers" for our miseries.

The choice is in our hands.

Not in the hands of our fathers.

Not in the hands of Nehru, Bhutto, Bandaranaike or Mujeeb.

The choice is not in the hands of the coming generations.

Not in the hands of our children.

Our hands will shape the destiny of South Asia, that course, that history which will flow for the next hundred years.

We are gifted to be at this special time, at this special place, in this special representative capacity as one-century wanes and another dawns. Our thoughts, ideas, and deeds can make the difference.

Let me tell you about my country.

Pakistan has paid a very heavy price in the spin off from the Afghan War. This includes the Klashnikov culture in Karachi, the rapid and alarming rise in the number of drug addicts who are estimated at over four million, the spillover of militants from trainee camps across the border, which has exacerbated tensions with our neighbours and disturbed internal security. Many Pakistanis were amazed to learn when the US Cruise Missiles hit Khost that six of the dead were Pakistanis. According to the UN, when Bahmian in North Afghanistan fell, Pakistanis were amongst the prisoners taken. Threats of terrorism and militancy to Pakistan from across the border are real.

Drugs, terrorism, extremism and violence are dangers which call for Pakistanis to put greater attention to what is happening in Afghanistan and could happen in Pakistan.

Let me tell you about our polity.

In Pakistan there are different kinds of political parties.

Some proclaim an Islamic system to win power.

Some claim provincial autonomy/nationalism as the answer.

Others pursue the politics of sectarianism to achieve their goals.

Still others believe the politics of ethnicity will lead to deliverance.

A few without electoral support cling to the notion of climbing into power through a military backed interim government.

The Pakistan Peoples Party believes in the politics of the people. Our goal is the economic emancipation of our people. We want our peoples to have freedom to chose, to practice. They are free to follow any sect, speak any ethnic language, practice their beliefs as they interpret religion. It is not our job.

Our job is to provide freedom and economic emancipation.

Quaid-e-Awam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto saw socialism as the route to economic emancipation in the seventies.

His daughter led the drive for economic emancipation through decentralization, deregulation privatization and free market.

For the coming decade, given the global realities, the path to economic salvation, to economic emancipation, to opportunity, prosperity, dignity, hope and success lies in a free economic zone.

Fellow Parliamentarians - Will we be condemned to the miseries of an unfortunate past or will we demonstrate the courage and conviction to seize a fantastic future?

Will we allow the frenzied calls of fanatics to dictate the agenda or will we allow the cool logic of the information technology world to drive an agenda of change?

Will we choose the path of Satti and Karo Kari or will we break free of outmoded traditions?

Will we torture and suppress our people, in fear, or will we respect people's dignity and self determination, in confidence?

Will we blind ourselves to old battles or see the new ones, the real ones that need to be fought.

My father, whom I loved deeply, was born in the British Raj. He lived through an epoch period of the Second World War, the freedom struggle, the collapse of Colonialism.

As a young student I heard his brilliant address at the United Nations. I heard him say, "Mr. Secretary General, realities change. The reality was that German troops were at the gates of Stalingrad". Realities change. Indeed, realities change.

But I would say definitions change too.

The people of South Asia are an honourable people, a self respecting people. Honour and respect through the centuries have carried different definitions.

There was a time when we honoured the warriors who raped, looted and plundered calling them great Conquerors and Emperors.

Today we honour a Nelson Mandela who makes peace and are appalled by those who rape, plunder and pillage.

There was a time when we honoured a man who look revenge for the murder of his family or tribe. Today we are shocked and punish those who take the law into their own hands.

There was a time when honour demanded that we lock up our wives in women's quarters. Today we consider it barbaric.

Realities change and with them definitions. There is no honour when people commit suicide because they cannot afford to live.

There is no honour when a child is born burdened with its country's debt.

There is no honour when a sniper's bullet kills a father on his way to work destroying a family's joy.

Since the Berlin Wall fell, we have seen the First World move towards larger economic entities. We have seen that mighty armies could not save Communist or Third World Countries from disintegrating into Warlords who dishonored humanity with bloodshed and carnage.

- Warlords ruled and ruined Lebanon at a time
- Warlords ruled and ruined Somalia
- Warlords ruled and ruined Afghanistan
- Warlords ruled and ruined Chechnya, Bosnia, Sudan and parts of Central Asia.
- Armed Mafias rule and ruined parts of Russia.
- Mighty armies watched helplessly as warlords or armed Mafias took over.

The IMF and World Bank are not charities to help South Asia survive. They can give us loans for a time to keep us afloat. But if we fail to learn to survive, who will take us to shore.

Ladies and Gentlemen

Honoured Parliamentarians,

Will we learn from the First World Countries with trillion dollars economies or will we condemn the coming generations to warlords and armed Mafias who will fight and kill.

The unipolar world has no reason to act as a police man unless its vital interests are involved. The carnage in Bosnia continued for years in the heart of Europe. The killing in Kosovo has yet to push the world into action.

You and I, we, the people, we the elected representatives have to police our own world by ensuring democracy, human rights, good governance and creating a macro-economic frame work where our people can compete successfully and

where South Asia can go on to make its mark in a new century, a new millennium

Parliamentarians

In just over 300 days, we will witness, only for the third time in recorded history, the turning of the millennium.

Where, and what, will we be when the year 2000 lights up the night's sky?

Will we be liberated to the endless possibilities of a remarkable new future?

Ladies and Gentlemen

I see a 21st Century of miraculous opportunity.

I see a 21st Century where temples are not brunt nor mosques razed to the ground.

I see a 21st Century where Human Rights are universal and self-determination reigns supreme.

I see a 21st Century where civil dialogue replaces the rhetoric of war and consensus guides the South Asian debate.

I see a 21st Century where people's trust in government is restored, and government gets on with alleviating the miseries and hardships of the people.

I see a 21st Century where every child is planned , wanted, nurtured and supported.

I see a 21st Century of tolerance and pluralism, where religions respect other religions.

I see a 21st Century of equal rights for women and men.

I see a 21st Century where the birth of a girl is welcomed with the same joy as the birth of a boy.

This can be the moment of Change

This can be the moment of Hope

This can be the moment for Leadership

The stakes will never be more important.

The risks never more dangerous.

In the words of the UNESCO Constitution, "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of the men that defences of peace must be constructed."

Our ancestors watch.

Our children and grand children's future awaits.

And long after we are gone, and the pages of this keynote address has turned first to sepia, and then to dust, let the history books of India and Pakistan declare that, in the last year of second millennium, moderate and reasonable men and women seized the moment, seized the day, and through courage and conviction shaped a permanent peace for generations yet unknown.

That is the 21st Century I see, for my children and for yours.

Thank you Ladies and Gentlemen.

Profiles in Courage
SDPI Seminar - Islamabad
March 5, 1999

Ladies and gentlemen,

I had never wished to enter public life. It was nothing that I sought. I had hoped, at Harvard and later at Oxford, that I could pursue a career in journalism or in the foreign service. Forces beyond my control shaped the direction of my future. Personal choice and personal happiness were replaced by social responsibility and political obligation.

Ladies and gentlemen, I see myself as a daughter of the East who was educated and spent significant parts of my life in the West. In a sense, I see myself as a bridge of two cultures, two worlds, two pasts. As a child I attended a private school in Karachi, run by Catholic nuns, sheltered from much of the turmoil of early Pakistan, a shy and insulated girl. When I was but sixteen years old, my father determined I should not be denied the Islamic right of knowledge, and thus he sent me abroad for higher education, and I was admitted into America's

premier university, Harvard College. All my life, and even spiritually to this day, it was my father who guided me, who mentored me, who encouraged me, who gave me the strength and confidence to express my views. His soul and his values are alive within me, wherever I go. It is interesting that the person who insured that I would break lose of the constrains of my culture and gender, was not a woman, but a man. A very great and a very wise man. The man who was and is the greatest role model in my life -- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. My travel to America when I was 16 was a true awakening.

I walked into a very new world.

I was alone for the first time in my life..

The pampered child was suddenly cooking, cleaning, washing and ironing -- independent and self-sufficient. I was for the first time in my life living together with strangers, in a dormitory of peers, where I had to take care of myself but also participate in an intellectual village. It was the first time in my life that I was in an environment where women were treated as full participants in society in every way. I was also thrust into a political environment that was unlike anything I had ever known. I went to Harvard in 1969, at the heart of the Vietnam War, with all of America, in political and social turmoil. In time, I, like many of my classmates, took to the streets, took to the barricades, demanding an end to an unjust war. And while I was in America for those four years, I participated and observed in a miracle of democracy -- I saw the power of the people changing policies, changing leaders, and changing history. It was that early experience, possibly more than anything else, that shaped my political being, that unalterably shaped my faith in democracy. From Harvard I spent almost four years in Oxford, where I became the first foreign woman to be elected as President of the Oxford Union. It was my first election, my first victory. I had been told that as a foreigner, I could not win and should not run. I had been told that as a woman, I could not win, and should not run. I knew I could win, and I did. Thus, I learned a valuable lesson: never acquiesce to obstacles, especially those that are constructed of bigotry, intolerance and blind, inflexible tradition. I also learned another critical lesson in life -- to follow my own political instincts. I returned to Pakistan in 1977, hoping to pursue a career in the Foreign Service.

But circumstances would soon unfold that would dictate the path of the rest of my life and change the direction of the future of my country. Within one week of my return from Oxford, a military coup toppled the elected democratic government of my father. Our house was surrounded by tanks.

A brutal, criminal dictator had overturned a free and fair election, imposed martial law, and suspended all constitutional rights within my country. My father was arrested, released, re-arrested and finally hanged. My party was targeted. Our leaders were murdered, tortured, imprisoned. The lucky ones went into exile.

A political vacuum was created with the imprisonment of my Father and his colleagues.

In this vacuum, I saw many members turn towards me to lead rallies, tour the country and seek a restoration of democracy. I did not seek leadership, it was thrust upon me. Tragedy, political circumstances, and the forces of history rallied a nation around me. I was fortunate in my campaign to lead my nation, as my name was recognized throughout the country -- and the same people who supported my Father's vision of a modern Islamic democracy rallied around me to continue the struggle.

I was fortunate in that a political party with roots in all four federating units of the country presented me with a national platform from which to launch not only the struggle for democracy but my own political career. I also was fortunate that my father had provided me with a strong education, and the means to be economically independent. This allowed me the time and resources to strengthen our political base. Exposure to modern, liberal ideas and a liberal education in some of the best schools in the world certainly helped me in preparing to play the leader's role.

But it was the real, practical education which I received from my father, who took great interest in my upbringing and initiating me in debates on major contemporary issues, which prepared me most. When I reflect on the road I have traveled, I recall my early aspirations to become an editor, and as mentioned, my interest in the Foreign Service -- my intentions were never to become involved in politics. However, now I realize I had no control over the events which would quickly change my fate, and my course was no longer mine. I was catapulted into politics by the force of circumstance. When my father was executed, and the Party rudderless, I was called upon by the Party and the people to take charge and pursue the mission of my father for freedom and constitutional rule.

The Pakistan Peoples Party provided me, a woman, the opportunity to lead the nation because the PPP had an enlightened, liberal message, proclaiming the equality of men and women. This was not an easy task at a time when the military dictatorship insisted that a woman's place was behind the house and behind the veil -- not in the work place. However the different approach between our opponents and supporters on the role of women in a Muslim Society helped

one in enlarging and co-opting a liberal constituency in a Muslim country where tradition and tribal customs had played a pre dominant role. Many believe that South Asian women leaders have inherited leadership through assassination of loved ones in the family.

The other part is that each of us had to win our badges of honours by paying a political price. I paid that political price, spending nearly six years in one form of imprisonment or another, mostly in solitary confinement, in an all pervasive climate of fear and dread. Senior members of the party could not reconcile themselves to being led by "a chit of a woman" to use their phrase. Bruising battles for leadership continued with the youth and second tier of the leadership supporting me over the senior leaders.

The downside of a politics born of struggle was the inadequate exposure I ,or my young supporters had, to the members and working of the elite and influential groups in the countries social and economic and administrative structure.

Due to the dread of the mixing with the opposition, members of the business community, bureaucracy military and judiciary kept clear of me. I had little experience of government, having not worked myself up the ladder as a democratic system allows. And this would remain a vulnerability when the party first achieved power.

However, I gained much experience in organizational and managerial matters in running the PPP, the nation's largest and most popular party, against all obstacles. But I found that it was not easy for the elite groups to accept the woman as a leader, particularly one which, perforce to circumstances, they did not know. My youth, went against me too. I remember, when I was elected my supporters were jubilant but not my opponents.

A Blind religious scholar from a leading Muslim country issued a fatwa declaring that it was un-Islamic for a woman to become chief executive of a country. I was delighted when a scholar from Yemen gave a Fatwa in support of a woman Chief Executive quoting the Holy Quran and the example of Queen Sabah who ruled a land of plenty. Hon'ble, Members of the religious parties and conservative minded segments of the public embarked on a mission to create a religious frenzy against the newly elected government. Pamphlets were distributed claiming it was the religious duty of the country to assassinate me as I was a woman who had usurped a man's place in an Islamic society. Several assassination attempts were made including one within the first month of my election at the Lahore airport.

A group of scholars within the organization of Muslim countries embarked on an agenda of having Pakistan thrown out of the OIC because it had violated Islamic tradition by voting for a woman. Luckily I learnt of this plan and pre-empted it. The removal of the government was branded a religious mission from the immanence.

Every Friday, from the mosques, sermons were given inciting the people to overthrow the government. Even non-Pakistani Muslims joined the challenge Pakistan had thrown by electing a woman leader. Osama Bin Laden bankrolled the no-confidence move against me. Ramzi Yousaf the man held responsible for the World Trade Center bombing made two unsuccessful assassination attempts in 1993. An armed group broke into the Prime Minister's House and two other break-ins were also intercepted

However, having a popular base meant having the popular support. We proved in Pakistan that the barriers of tradition could be broken. We proved in Pakistan that a woman could be elected chief executive in a Muslim country. It was a victory for women every where especially Muslim women. And although my opponents fulminated, calling me an Indian agent and Israeli agent, the people supported me. In November of 1988 my party was swept into office and I was sworn in as the first Muslim woman to head a government anywhere in the world. I was 35 years old. We immediately embarked on an ambitious program of political liberalization, an end to press censorship, legalization of trade unions, a commitment to the long neglected social sector with emphasis on education, health delivery and women's rights, and macroeconomic reform.

Despite the peoples support, after just 20 months, the entrenched Establishment that had supported the dictatorship, that had refused to bow to the people's will, toppled my government. The fact that I was a woman played a great part. In my first term a serving Corp Commander called upon my husband and said that if he took over the leadership of the PPP the Party would be acceptable to the Establishment. In 1993, when we were preparing for Elections, a member of a royal house said the same thing to my husband and to me saying that my election posed problems for other Muslim countries. When I was dismissed in 1990, an anti-PPP interim regime was sworn in and the then President led the campaign against me even coming on television on the eve of the Election to say that "the dead body has been bathed. Tomorrow it will be buried!! The petition filed by Air Marshal Asghar Khan before the Supreme Court shows how the Inter Services Intelligence organized and turned the campaign against the PPP.

The new regime born in an establishment intrigue failed to give Pakistan stability.

It launched bitter battle of persecution against its political opponents. My husband was arrested, a hostage to my political career. I was dragged by my chadar from court room to court room. My supporters, including Parliamentarians, were kidnapped, arrested, baton charged, tear gassed.

The result was that anarchy and chaos gripped the Nation.

Pakistan was on the threshold of being declared a terrorist state and our economy was on the verge of collapse. We were asked to roll back our then peaceful nuclear programme. The Rangers and Police were eyeball to eyeball in front of Governor House, Lahore and civil war threatened our country.

My party did not lose its faith in one nor did I lose my faith in politics or the people of my country. I missed the opportunity to meet my workers or organize my party because of the harassment. I was brutally tear gassed while carrying my third child Aseefa for five hours. But the peoples Democratic Alliance succeeded in its goal of forcing Nawaz Sharif to resign.

Within three years I was re-elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan. It was a difficult campaign for me. Unknown to my family, my mother had begun falling ill and our opponents were able to exploit a Moma's love for her son. My own brother campaigned against me. My mother said that a boy should inherit my father's political legacy. My father had seen his legacy as belonging to the downtrodden and oppressed people of Pakistan. My mother's view caused me pain and anguish. Although I won the election it had to be at the cost of my brother losing the seats he had contested. So although I won, the sweet taste of victory eluded me. I tried to reconcile with my brother. His pride stood in the way. As an eldest child I had been a demi-mother to any brother and sister. It hurt me that my brother opposed my government. Just when we met, and reconciled in July 1996, he was snatched away by my enemies who triggered a battle in the streets of Karachi. I wondered if my brothers would have been used against me if I had not been a woman. I wondered whether, in different ways, my mother and brother had been used to wage a psychological war against me because women find to have greater emotional feelings.

My husband, Senator Zardari, too was targeted. I believe he is a victim of male rage felt by my opponents. A traditional wife listens to her husband. It is easy for my opponents to exploit this value system by playing on peoples nerves, falsely, that my husband views the show. As men in traditional homes dictate the way their women folk should behave, I believe there is male rage against my husband directed at him not keeping me at home and thereby not threatening the status quo with a working wife.

In reflection, I realize that being a leader in a large developing country that had been stifled by the forces of dictatorship is difficult in itself.

But being a woman has made my task more formidable. I faced greater challenges than I could have ever imagined when I took my oath of office in the Aiwan-e-Sadr on a cool December day in 1988.

It is not easy being a woman in Pakistan, and in many ways there are still hurdles for women all over the world. Still more difficult is being a woman politician, a woman parliamentarian, or a businesswoman. Moreover, for women leaders, the obstacles are greater, the demands are greater, the barriers are greater, and the double standards are greater. And ultimately, the expectations of those who look at us as role models are greater as well. For all women, it is critical that we succeed. Unfortunately, there are still many men who would just as soon have us fail, to reinforce their myopic stereotypes restricting the role of women. I recall with great empathy the words of Baroness Margaret Thatcher, who once said:

"If a woman is tough, she is pushy. If a man is tough, gosh, he's a great leader."

How often, in Pakistan, we have heard characterizations of women in professions as pushy, as aggressive, as cunning, as shrewd, as strident.

These words, if applied to men in politics, would be badges of honour!

Those of us who have chosen to serve in business, government and other professional careers have broken new ground. We have broken glass ceilings, we have broken the stereotypes, and we have been and continue to be prepared to go the extra mile, to be judged by unrealistic standards, to be held more accountable.

Therefore, women leaders have to outperform, outdistance and out-manage men at every level. We should not shrink from this responsibility, we should welcome it. Welcome it on behalf of women all over the world.

For all who have suffered before, and for all who come after us, we are privileged to be in this special position, in this special time, with unique opportunities to change our societies, our value systems, our country and the World.

I have not found that there are any male leaders who will agree there are differences in styles between male and female leaders.

But we female leaders, and I speak from my conversations with other women leaders, believe that female leaders are stronger and more determined.

I personally believe that women leaders are more generous and more forgiving. Male leaders tend to be more inflexible, and more rigid.

However, ironically, I have met many male leaders who feel that women leaders are actually more rigid.

Male leaders can learn from female counterparts how to keep people together.

Women leaders have a tradition and an historical legacy of bringing up families and creating a sense of family community and unity. Women are more forgiving, more understanding. Male leaders more loner than women leaders stand on false pride or bold grudges.

Women have a greater natural and inherent strength in keeping a team united and this is what men leaders need to learn from women leaders. I have often been criticized for forgiving and taking back those who have opposed the PPP. I do not know whether this because I am a woman leader or because I come from the land of sufis and as such live in the present letting go of the past.

I asked a male leader what we female leaders could learn from them and he replied in a simple word "intrigues".

Men know how to intrigue and women are not so good at intrigues.

I once had a furious row with a male leader. He told me nonchalantly that there are eleven commandments, the ten not to cheat, lie etc. The 11th is to break all the ten commandments but do not get caught. I believe women leaders are driven by a moral or idealistic passion whereas male leaders love power to exercise power.

Just as men and women can learn from one another, so can leaders from different cultures, regions and religions.

In the West, people often take free choice, free speech, and human rights for granted, as a matter of right.

In the East, the leaders have not only had to battle the different political parties, but also resist the forces of tradition.

Moreover since many countries in the East have had long experiences of military dictatorships, their security apparatus is strong and often resists change. Often the security apparatus has had an unbiblical relationship with the politicians it has spawned while being deeply suspicious of popular leaders who had opposed dictatorship.

As a bridge between the East and the West I put lessons I learnt into practice and saw dreams that my Party and people shared. In 1988 Pakistan became one of the first countries to embark on de-regulation.

We introduced the concept of privatization in our manifesto of 1988 and piloted the bill for privatization through the Parliament.

We broke the dominance of public sector units and gave an impetus to the private sector. Within a decade Pakistan has been transformed.

Today we have a burgeoning private sector and entrepreneurs that consist of both men and women. We have a whole new Social class of NGOs who have flourished in an open society bearing how to organize core groups on single issues.

I was proud of Pakistan when under my leadership of de-regulation, Pakistan integrated into the global economy and became one of the ten emerging capital markets of the world.

In modernizing our economy we introduced private sector financial institutions, computerized the stock market and in Central Revenues Department, made the State Bank autonomous and reformed the Corporate Law Authority.

When we began our second term, we were pitted against a precarious economic scenario. The country was on the verge of bankruptcy.

When my government assumed management of the economy in 1993, the country's growth rate rested at a dismal 2.0%. We tripled that to 6% in three short years.

We were able to reduce our fiscal deficit three points in three years, from 8% to 5% of GDP.

We doubled tax revenue from 7.2% to 14.1%, a great accomplishment.

And due to the investment-oriented policies of the PPP government, we attracted more than \$26 billion dollars in MOUs of direct foreign investment in Pakistan.

We moved urgently, made difficult decisions, sometimes unpopular decisions, to restore solvency and create a macroeconomic framework that would allow Pakistan to compete in the world and attract foreign investment to help jump-start our moribund economy.

We did many things that were necessary, but not terribly popular. What we did was good policy, but not always good politics. But my task was not to win a popularity contest, but rather to prepare Pakistan for the new millennium.

The record of our economic progress is something that I am extremely proud of.

We determined as one of our highest priorities that we had to rebuild the infrastructure of our nation if we were to become an economic leader of our region and of the world in the new century.

In providing a big-push to infrastructure development, our primary target was the energy sector. The World Bank called our energy infrastructure program a model to the entire developing world.

And we brought our energy revolution directly to the people of Pakistan by electrifying over 21,000 villages in our rural areas.

And it is the social sector that our accomplishments have the most special meaning to me. Possibly as a woman and as a mother I was more sensitive to the human cost of social neglect.

I wanted a new education system for Pakistan, an education system for the new technology and the new century.

We constructed over 30,400 new primary and secondary schools, and renovated an additional 9,800 existing ones.

Approximately seventy percent of the schools we built were for girls.

We recruited approximately 53,000 teachers, of whom 35,000 were women.

We started a computer literacy programme to bring our people into the computer age.

We introduced the internet and e-mail to Pakistan.

As a woman and mother, I was particularly concerned about the conditions of health for the children of Pakistan.

Approximately 50 million child deaths are predicted in South Asia over the next decade.

Of that astounding number, 30 million are avoidable if the countries of the region embark on serious health education and health delivery programs.

In order to promote mother and child health care, primary health care and nutrition, 50,000 village health and family planning workers were trained to provide services specifically geared to the needs of women and children, including family planning.

This program is credited by the international organizations for a dramatic drop in Pakistani fertility rates.

Further in the child health area, my government embarked an ambitious and comprehensive effort to immunize the children of Pakistan from a host of childhood diseases that have been brought under control in other parts of the world.

I wondered:

How many great authors will never live to write their novels and poetry? How many prospective great scientists, women and men who might go on to cure AIDS, to conquer cancer, to prevent strokes, will be among the thirty million children who could very well die if we do not act now?"

We almost doubled public sector expenditures on health.

In order to reduce population growth and infant mortality growth rates, 53,000 health workers were recruited and trained.

As a result, population growth rate came down from 3.1% to 2.9% in the first phase and was targeted to go down to 2.6% in the second and is targeted to go down to 2.3% in the third.

When I became Prime Minister in 1993, one in five children born with polio in the world was in Pakistan. We were determined to end this dreadful statistic and launched our anti-polio campaign.

My own one year old daughter was at the heart of the campaign as I fed her and other children polio drops twice yearly to launch the campaign.

I was thrilled when 100,000 volunteers came forward yearly to assist the campaign to eliminate polio from Pakistan forever. It shows how keen our people are to join a crusade that they identify with.

The WHO gave me a gold medal in recognition of Pakistan's effort to eliminate polio and provide basic health facilities to our people.

As a woman leader I was appalled to learn that most women in Pakistan did not know that domestic violence was illegal. Many somehow thought that beatings by their husbands were the man's marital right.

To protect women in society, we established special women's police forces and women's courts, to hear with understanding and sympathy cases of domestic violence and domestic abuse. Courts and police forces for women, staffed by women.

In preparation for the Beijing Conference on Women, the PPP government signed the convention for the elimination of Discrimination against women.

And we created women's banks for women entrepreneurs, empowering them with the tools to start their own businesses. And yes, we allowed men to deposit their funds in the women's banks –and they did.

We brought the information Revolution to Pakistan we introduced FAX machines in government offices, made a telephone available to every Pakistani, ended power shut downs of 13 hours at a time. We introduced the World of modern communication Digital Pager, Cellular telephones, satellites, internet, e-mail.

It was a miraculous transformation of a society, a transformation that cannot be negated by dis-information and personal attacks on me.

What we accomplished -- concretely and specifically -- is my legacy to the people of Pakistan.

We opened up education, and we opened up markets.

We opened up opportunity and we opened up foreign investment.

We opened economic development and opened up our rural villages.

Above all, we opened minds. We opened up individual choice.

Ladies and gentlemen, leadership and courage are often synonymous.

Ultimately, leadership depends on action, daring to take actions that are necessary but unpopular, to challenge institutions and traditions.

To do what is right, not what is necessarily popular.

To educate and move an electorate, as opposed to just responding to people want.

We led when we challenged the extremists and shut down clerical academics preaching hatred and militancy in Peshawar.

We dared to lead when we diverted funds to the social services despite overall budget cuts to bring down the deficit.

We demonstrated leadership when we instituted our ladies health workers program on family planning, challenging the notion that a woman cannot control her destiny.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I have not lived through what I have lived through -- my father's murder, my two brothers' murders, the years in prison, the sacking of our two democratic governments -- to be intimidated into silence. The attempts by the present regime to force girl students into wearing Purdah, its refusal to restore Women's seats, its insensitivity to minorities, its attack on a liberal judicial system, its introduction of the CA-15 in a cynical bid to exploit the name of Islam are being resisted by my party under my leadership. Gravely concerned at the attempts to dismantle democracy.

I am determined not to let down those who believe in a democratic, modern, moderate, Muslim State.

Ladies and gentlemen, our generation stands at the door way of history.

Not only the door way of a new century, but the doorway of a new millennium.

And as we prepare ourselves to meet this century, this new millennium, I believe we need to clearly understand the challenges that still await us and await the century.

It is up to us, all of us, to determine the moral parameters of that new era -- the coming decade, the coming century, the coming millennium.

For in just over 300 days, we will witness only for the third time in recorded history the momentous turning of the millennium.

Where and what will we be, at that extraordinary moment?

Will we be prisoners of the mind-set of the past, or will we be liberated to the endless possibilities of an historic future?

Our generation, the first in recorded history, is fundamentally empowered with the control of its own destiny.

The chains of the past -- colonialism, ignorance, dictatorship and sexism -- are broken.

The world has finally accepted, in the words of Robert Browning, that "ignorance is not innocence, but sin."

We must have the will to shape our future. The time for blaming others is gone. The time for accepting responsibility is upon us. The days of looking up to Messiahs to solve all problems is part of the past. Instead of waiting for the state to act, we need to take our destiny into our own hands and see what each of us can do to contribute to a peaceful society of equal opportunity, free of discrimination, favoritism and patronage. The time for criticizing is over. The time for seeking solutions has come. Our generation, the first post-independence generation have come of age. The truth has passed from our mothers and our father's to us. In fact, we have become our mothers and fathers. Our generation needs to identify its Central concern.

I remember the last words of my father to me, writing to me from his death cell. He said:

"Every generation has a central concern, whether to end war, erase racial injustice, or improve the conditions of working people. Today's youth demand a government that speaks directly and honestly to its citizens."

In seeking to identify that central concern, it is important for us to compassionate, to consult each other, to decide, not by dictate, but by consensus. My father, who influenced me tremendously, always asked me to keep compassion in my heart and humanity in my soul. He did this when he was tense and anorexic at the time. Hate filled my heart. Hate for what his enemies

had done to him, to me, to our party, our people, our country. But my father always remained calm. His confidence and serenity shone through in that dark and dismal death cell. He saved me and made me the person I am. He who always slept on silk sheet and satin pillows, whom God had blessed with so much I saw him being inhumanly and barbarically deprived of every right. It made me bitter and made me angry. However, he wanted me to be free of hate and of anger which he saw as negative corrosive emotions. He wanted me to flower. He was fifty when I turned twenty five. As a birthday present, he gave me a letter, written in love, by hand, without table, or chair, or light, from memory. And he wrote me:

"The possibilities are too great, the stakes too high, to bequeath to the coming generation only the prophetic lament of Tennyson:

"Ah, what shall I be at fifty...If I find the world so bitter at twenty-five."

I remember my father's words. I fight hate at every step. Each stage in life is a struggle against the forces who unleash anger in me and my struggle to overcome it to be a better person, a better mother, a better wife, a better leader working for a better world.

And what will that world be?

I see a Third Millennium where the gap between rich and poor states evaporates, where illiteracy and hunger and malnutrition are conquered.

I see a Third Millennium where human rights are universal, and self-determination unabridged anywhere on the planet.

I see a Third Millennium where women are treated with respect and dignity.

I see a Third Millennium where practices like Karo-Kari .disappear into the past.

I see a third Millennium where the state tells its people, you are free, free to be what you want to be , free to practice your religion, your sect and speak what language you like.

I see a Third Millennium where women inherit their due share and where their children are not snatched from them should a marriage breaks.

I see a third millennium where parents accept that daughters want to choose their own life-partners.

I see a third Millennium where the Islamic right of a Muslim Woman to adequate alimony and the right to seek divorce is accepted and written into the marriage contract.

I see a Third Millennium where every child is planned, wanted, nurtured and supported.

And above all, I see a Third Millennium where the birth of a girl child is welcomed with the same joy as the birth of a boy.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Welcome and Introduction

**Address on 20th Martyrdom Anniversary of Shaheed Z A Bhutto at Karachi
March 8, 1999**

To commemorate the 20th Martyrdom Anniversary of Shaheed Bhutto, on the occasion of the Quaid-e-Awam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Commemorative Lecture on "Impact of Political Dynasties in South Asia" by Anura Bandaranaike, Member of Parliament, Republic of Sri Lanka, March 8, 1999 at Beach Luxury Hotel, Karachi.

Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen.

We are privileged to have amongst us the Honorable Anura Bandaranaike, Member of the Parliament of Sri Lanka, a former Minister of Higher Education, a fellow 'South Asian,' at the Quaid-e-Awam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Commemorative Lecture on "Impact of Political Dynasties in South Asia" organized by the Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Institute of Science and Technology.

As the son of two Prime Ministers, and the brother of a President, Mr. Bandaranaike is well qualified to enlighten us on the impact of Political dynasties in South Asia. The policies of South Asia has been dominated to a large extent by the political struggles of the Nehrus, the Bhuttos and the Bandaranaiques who embodied the hopes and aspirations of the teeming masses of the Sub-Continent. These were populist leaders caught in the web of Cold War politics. Their leftist leaning, welcomed at home by the proletarian class, were viewed as dangerous abroad.

The generation down the line functions in a different time prism. The cold war is over. The world of de-regulation, decentralization and privatization has begun. However, the political parties concerned, retain their sympathies with the poor,

disadvantaged, the dispossessed, the discriminated. Their policies are aimed at providing relief to this underclass which the elite see as threatening.

India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and newly formed Bangladesh all shared common features. These features included the English language, the legacy of the British Raj, cricket and cucumber-sandwiches, a parliamentary system and a legal system based on common law. These countries also shared something more sinister. Powerful ruling elites who could not, would not, reconcile themselves to the democratic reality of populist leaders. When populist leaders could not be kept out through the electoral arena, extra democratic avenues were sought for their elimination. The extra democratic avenues cast a deep crimson stain on the fabric of South Asia. Bandaranaike, Indira, Bhutto were murdered because they could not be defeated. But they lived on. Lived on in the imagination of their people and in the organization of their political platforms. In seeking a rallying point for the struggle of the people against the dark forces of dictatorship, the political organizations concerned turned to symbols of the martyred leaders.

It was this search for the symbols of the martyred leader which gave birth to political dynasties in South Asia as family members rose to accept the challenge. In doing so, a bond was created between the masses and leader, bereft, but not alone, grief-struck but determined to overcome the adversarial forces and to regain the center field in the battle of socio-economic emancipation. When murder failed to snuff out the dream of the people, the powerful elites adopted a novel new course called disqualification. If murder led to martyrdom, then political murder would be turned into a living death. Those populist leaders who could win even in the face psychological warfare, who could win in the face of character assassination and propaganda, would be, kept out by snatching from them the right to contest elections, to lead their nations and their people.

Sri Lanka, India and Pakistan have all seen these pathetic, undemocratic, illegal, fascist attempts to politically eliminate leaders through abuse of the judicial system. In a democracy, people are the final court of verdict in the world. However, the elitist classes have attempted to snatch from the people their fundamental right to elect a person of their choice to lead them. This attempt by the fascist ruling elite has failed in the past and shall fail once again. It is time, our people, our nations, our Sub-Continent moved on to meet the new challenge of a new century under the leadership of choice, fully representative of its aspirations.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Today we are all gathered here under the auspices of SZABIST, one of Pakistan's leading Universities on the occasion of the Quaid-e-Awam commemorative

lecture. This year, 1999, marks the 20th martyrdom anniversary of Pakistan's great leader, its first directly elected democratic chief executive.

I congratulate SZABIST for establishing the Quaid-e-Awam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto commemorative lecture to pay tribute to Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Prime Minister Bhutto had a deep commitment to the world of science and technology. In fact, he once served, if I recall correctly, as a Minister for Science and Technology. He set up KANUPP in Karachi with the assistance of the Canadians. He established the Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Sciences and Technology (PINSTECH), the National Science Council (NSC) and the Pakistan Science Foundation (PSF) among others. Pakistan was given its first Science and Technology Policy under his leadership as well as a new direction in education through the Education Policy of 1972. Within 5 years under his Captainship of the State, Pakistan established a large number of leading Universities, including the NED University of Engineering & Technology, Karachi, the Mehran University of Engineering & Technology Jamshoro, the Bahauddin Zakarya University, Multan, the Islamic University, Bahawalpur, and the Gomal University, D. I. Khan. His dream to establish a prestigious institution along the lines of his Alma Mater, the University of California at Berkeley and the Oxford University, fell short due to his premature martyrdom, when both his life, and his dream of a prosperous Pakistan, was cut short by a ruthless dictator.

SZABIST is the fulfillment of his dream to give the people of Pakistan the best education in their own homeland enabling them to compete with honour and dignity with the rest of the world. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as the builder of Pakistan gave Pakistanis a sense of national identity, security of prestige, of recognition. In the forefront of the student movement in California, he came back to Pakistan fired with the belief that political power must rest with the people. Although he started his political career as a Minister in President Ayub's Cabinet, he left to fight every dictator including Ayub, Yahya, Zia. He saw himself as a meteor who would light up the sky for one blazing moment before disappearing forever into space and the heart of history.

He was determined to bring a social revolution no matter what the cost, and he did. Land Reforms, Labour Reforms, Nationalization of the commanding heights of Pakistan's economy, changed the political contours of Pakistan. By his actions, he won the life long love of the working classes and middle classes and with it the abiding hatred of the elites he had disenfranchised. He knew he would have to pay a terrible price for destroying the elite class and benefiting the underclass but he was, in his own words, prepared to make every sacrifice to provide for the masses who had never seen a decent meal, or decent clothing or decent shelter. In a prophetic sentence, he said to the people "I am prepared to sacrifice my life

for you. If need be, my two sons Murtaza and Shah Nawaz will also sacrifice their lives for you".

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto simultaneously cared for and loved the people of Pakistan. There are those who still recall with tears in their eyes how at the historic Mochi Gate meeting, a million people swarmed for hours in drizzling rain to catch a glimpse of their Quaid. In a show of love and caring, he threw off his Jacket, saying he also wanted to get wet like the crowd who had waited relentlessly for him in the rain. He and the people had an emotional bond.

His election symbol was "The Sword of Ali" and it was his name too for that is what Zulfikar Ali Bhutto means. The saga of his martyrdom and the resistance of his followers have gone down in the sands of time as Pakistan's "Karbala". Within six months, what Pakistan lost by the sword in 1971, he won back by the pen. He raised and rebuilt the Pakistan Army to one of the finest in Asia.

He gave Pakistan its first Constitution, democratic and federal in nature unanimously passed by the first elected Parliament. Smaller provinces got their rights. He gave Pakistan major projects, such as the Pakistan Steel Mills, Port Qasim at Karachi, the Machine Tool Factory at Landhi, the Heavy Mechanical Complex at Taxila, the Kamrah Aeronautical Complex, Kahuta and Karakurram Highway.

The Muslim World chose him as the Co-Chairman of the Second Islamic Summit Conference, along with Shah Faisal of Saudi Arabia. Both were later assassinated but at that Conference the Muslim World recognized Yasser Arafat as the President of PLO. This subsequently enabled the USA and Israel to negotiate with President Arafat as the sole representative of the Palestine people.

The Court trying him on a conspiracy for murder charge was cut in size from nine to seven to assure a guilty verdict. The verdict was split 4:3 with three judges honourably acquitting him of conspiracy to murder. In the eyes of the Federation he stood acquitted with three units acquitting him and one unit convicting. The Supreme Court of Pakistan unanimously called upon General Zia to commute Bhutto's sentence as there was no punishment of death for conspiracy. But Quaid-e-Awam was assassinated by the Military Dictator on April 4, 1979 in the early hours of the morning contrary to jail regulations. Neither the family nor the nation was informed.

For anyone to face death it requires courage, for a man pleading his own innocence to face it in cold blood requires the strength of a giant. And he was a giant of a man who strode like a colossus across the world stage. Today his final

resting place at Garhi Khuda Bux attracts tens of thousands of faithful followers yearly to pay tribute.

Ladies Gentlemen:

Our guest Anura Bandaranaike is no stranger to the world of politics. His father Prime Minister Solomon Bandaranaike was an Oxford graduate, hailing from a rich and privileged, married into one of the oldest, most aristocratic families. He returned from Oxford to the land of his birth and dedicated himself to improving the lives of his people.

In Sindh's tradition Sri Lanka is known as the 'Land of Marvels'. For centuries, when Buddha reigned supreme in the region, Sindh and Lanka traded together. When Islam dawned in Sindh in 712 AD, Lanka continued with its relations. Sea trade flourished for centuries between our lands. The traders of Sindh took their merchandise sailing for Sri Lanka every autumn when the fury of the ocean subsided. The ancient mariners watched for the rising of the star known as AYATH (Sanskrit: AGSTHA) for when it shone, the season for sailing came. With the end of the Cold War, the rise of the unipolar world, the birth of economic trading zones, it is time for the political mariners in South Asia to search for the right star to guide our common journey into the new century, the new millennium.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I see a new star rise in the skies of South Asia. I see new star rise, the star of Economic Emancipation and Economic Opportunity for South Asians. The South Asian region encompassing Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka, has a common and shared history. We speak the same languages. Our colour is the same. We have a multi-religious society, with Muslims, Hindus, Christians, Parsis, Buddhists & others. Each in our country believes in the freedom of religion. We all have similar per capita income. All are in similar stages of economic development, all share a common legal system based on common law, all have free market based economies, all share English as a common language for government and business transactions, and all share a common history and culture.

The logical choice for the nations of South Asia is to come together under a "South Asian Free Economic Zone," which would include all SAARC countries. We could embark on a development journey, where in the first phase, to conclude by the year 2010, the member nations could reach a critical phase in their economic development and per capita income, with liberal trade agreements and co-operation in all sectors. This could be done on the pattern of

the EC with a common trading currency, a common central bank, a revolving Presidency, a common travel document.

In the second phase, China could perhaps be included in this free zone. This is my vision of an "Asian Free Economic Zone," which by 2010 would be in existence with over 2.5 to 3 billion people, and a GNP of over US \$ 7 trillion. Of this, SAARC alone would be around \$ 3 trillion and China over \$ 4 trillion. Our Asian Free Zone could be at the same level, in GNP terms, as EC, US or Japan. With roughly 50% of the world population in the Asian Zone, this Zone, in terms of the economics market, would have the greatest influence, voice and clout in the 21st Century.

Mr. Anura, you, through your country, Sri Lanka, could perhaps one day, and we hope, become the President of this "Super Power" Asian Zone. The choice is in our hands. We can shape the destiny of South Asia, that course, that history, which will flow for the next hundred years, or we could choose to remain in ignorance, poverty, and despair. Will we, the people of South Asia, choose to be prisoners of the past, or will we be able to rise to the challenges of a magnificent future? Paul Kennedy, in his book, 'Preparing for the 21st Century' writes:

" — the forces of change facing the world could be so far reaching, complex and interactive, that they would call for nothing less than the re-education of humankind — . Above all, unease about present, or impelling, changes is behind the widespread dis-enchantment with political leadership — . Clearly, a society which desires to be better prepared for the 21st Century will have to pay a price to achieve that transition; it will need to re-tool its natural skills and infrastructure, challenge vested interests, alter many new habits, and perhaps amend its governmental structures. But this requires long term vision at a time when most politicians — in both rich and poor countries — can hardly deal with even short term problems; and it means political risks — ."

Is our political leadership ready for this challenge? Are we ready to open up our borders to adopt to the changes coming our way in the 21st century?

That is the challenge before all of us. To have the courage to break from the past to enter an exciting new area of regional cooperation and global competition in a world where ideas and goods will dominate the markets and give each region its purpose and influence. Imagine the Kashmir dispute, the Bihari question, the illegal immigration melting into solutions as open borders lead to open societies based on tolerance, accommodation and trade.

In the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century, South Asia remained the golden trade route of rich markets. Its spices, perfumes and elaborate workmanship

simultaneously bred a mercantile class whilst attracting other mercantile groups. The court of Queen Victoria paled in comparison to the jewelled splendour of the Moghul Emperors and the Maharajas. The wealth of the East was conquered by the gunpowder of the West. But the era of gunpowder is dying and from its ashes is rising the world of Information Technologies spawning an increasingly borderless world.

No longer do we need the post office to send letters, the telephone department to talk across the continents. We can do it through the computer. Tax Residency, banking arrangements and stock market investment can be done from a home in one continent through an institution in another continent. The brave new era calls for leaders of courage to take the bold steps necessary to adapt to the changing circumstances and with them carry their people into a wonderful world of varied opportunity.

Mr. Bandaranaike, Ladies and Gentleman,

Mr. Bandaranaike has joined us in the middle of his election campaign for his provincial council elections. Mr. Bandaranaike, on behalf of SZABIST, we are certainly grateful and thankful to you for joining us today.

I see Mr. Bandaranaike as one of those courageous new leaders who will light the torch for a new generation. He is an exceptional member of a talented family whose footprints can be seen in time from decades.

Mr. Bandaranaike is the only son of the four times elected Prime Ministers of Sri Lanka - A record unequalled in any part of the world. As a graduate of the prestigious Royal College, Colombo, and the University of London, he won his first election in 1977 at the age of 27.

This year, he completes over 22 continuous years in Parliament a record that would make every Parliamentarian envious.

At the age of 34, Mr. Bandaranaike became the youngest Leader of the Opposition in Sri Lanka and the Commonwealth. Recently he won a human rights case against an illegal police raid on his house.

Born in the eye of politics, Mr. Bandaranaike has met many world states people including India's Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Indonesia's Sukarno, Yugoslavia's Tito, China's Mao Tse Tung & Chou En Lai, Britain's Harold McMillan & Harold Wilson, Egypt's Gamal Abdul Nasser, and Pakistan's Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Mr. Bandaranaike previously visited Pakistan in September 1992 to address the SAARC Opposition Leader's Conference in Karachi. We welcome him once again to Pakistan. Mr. Bandaranaike, on behalf of SZABIST, and on behalf of the people of Pakistan, I invite you to share your views with us.

The Courage to Lead

The Power of Women Conference - Ottawa, Canada

April 8, 1999

Honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen.

It is a pleasure and a privilege to visit Ottawa and address this distinguished gathering of women.

I thank you for your kind invitation, and for your warm welcome.

I am no stranger to North America.

I spent four of the happiest years of my life as a student at an American college.

In all that has happened in my life since my graduation from Harvard 25 years ago, with all the transitions in the world, the carefree days on the Harvard Yard seem a distant dream.

I want to take this opportunity with you today to take stock -- of my own life, of the political situation in Pakistan, and of Pakistan's position as we cross into a new political era.

For those of us who fought and died for democracy and freedom in Pakistan, the return of a fascist, one-man dictatorship is painful beyond comprehension.

For nearly 24 months, the regime has used coercion and repression to silence its critics and to censor the press through hidden threats and open indictments.

It has made no secret of its desire to eliminate the leader of the opposition with a view to deny the people of Pakistan an alternate.

For this purpose a special law has been passed with retrospective effect. The regime has indulged in obstruction of justice by fabricating evidence and torturing witnesses into committing perjury.

I know it has become the fashion both in the developed and developing world over the last decade, to destroy leaders' reputations by innuendo, allegation and rumour.

I think the new term of art is "the politics of personal destruction."

Governments rise and fall not on performance but on personality, not by accountability but allegation, not on facts but on slurs.

The attacks against me are a more extreme version of what seems to be a universal deterioration of civil dialogue in politics, not just in Pakistan, but all over our world.

The search for political consensus, the main characteristic of a democratic society, has degenerated into partisan hysteria, a rule or ruin philosophy.

The fascist government of Pakistan has attempted to impose dictatorship. In this attempt, it has failed to deliver on governance.

This has resulted in total incompetence and the failure to manage the economy and the social infrastructure of the country, forcing many Pakistanis to leave the country for safer shores, including those of Canada. As Pakistanis who are affluent leave the country, they take their capitol with them.

The flight of capitol from my land is the most serious in a land known for its poverty and backwardness.

It has been caused by the foolish decision of the regime to nationalize foreign currency accounts to reduce the national foreign debt.

The foreign currency curbs have only curbed growth.

The international business community now fully understands that the agenda of the Nawaz regime in Pakistan is to control the commanding heights of Pakistan's economy through its friends and cronies.

And that he will do this at any cost to our homeland.

Note:

- 1) Scandalization of IPP's
- 2) State Department Human Rights Report
- 3) HRCP Report

Thanks to Nawaz Sharif, the country is being isolated in the international community.

He has made us a pariah in the community of nations.

It is painful for me in Pakistan, but it is the people of Pakistan who have suffered the most.

A government sponsored mob, attacked the Supreme Court of Pakistan, forcing the Chief Justice to flee the courtroom. His Crime? For hearing a corruption case against the Prime Minister.

Newspapers, critical of the regime, have had their offices raided and their employees threatened with cases of financial impropriety.

A woman shopping at a marketplace in the city of Karachi had her arms slashed for wearing a short sleeved dress.

Girl students in government schools have been forced to wear the veil.

Family courts headed by women judges have been closed.

Parliamentarians have been baton-charged by police, some requiring hospitalization because of head injuries.

When I led a march in defense of the free press, the regime ordered the police to teargas, baton charge and hurl bricks at me.

And now, the Nawaz Regime is seeking to undermine Pakistan's constitution through passage of a bill cloaked in Religion with the purpose of concentrating all powers in the hands of the Prime Minister, who will have the power to "proscribe what is right and what is wrong."

Once again an illegitimate dictator is attempting to exploit and manipulate Islam for his political advantage.

Once again, a Pakistani dictator is attempting to destroy democracy and replace it with religious fanaticism.

The right of individual choice, of individual freedoms is under assault even as I speak to you today.

I and my Party will continue to resist these efforts to destroy democracy, to destroy individual choice, to destroy religious tolerance.

This is the nature of my life, this is the price of responsibility -- and I accept it.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I had never wished to enter public life.

It was nothing that I sought.

I had hoped, at Harvard and later at Oxford, that I could pursue a career in journalism or in the Foreign Service.

Forces beyond my control shaped the direction of my future.

Personal choice and personal happiness was replaced by social responsibility and political obligation.

Ladies and gentlemen, as many of you know, I am a daughter of the East who was educated and spent significant parts of my life in the West.

In a sense, I am a bridge of two cultures, two worlds, and two pasts.

As a child I attended a private school in Karachi, run by Catholic nuns, sheltered from much of the turmoil of early Pakistan, a shy and insulated girl.

When I was but sixteen years old, my father determined I should not be denied the Islamic right of knowledge, and thus he sent me abroad for higher education, and I was admitted into America's premier university, Harvard College.

All my life, and even spiritually to this day, it was my father who guided me, who mentored me, who encouraged me, who gave me the strength and confidence to express my views.

His soul and his values are alive within me, wherever I go.

It is interesting that the person who insured that I would break lose of the constraints of my culture and gender, was not a woman, but a man.

A wise man who was and is the greatest role model in my life -- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

My travel to America when I was 16 was a true awakening.

I walked into a very new world.

I was alone for the first time in my life.

The pampered child was suddenly cooking, cleaning, washing and ironing -- independent and self-sufficient.

I was exposed to the most brilliant and respected professors, to the most compelling ideas, to a demanding curriculum, to the most accomplished students in all of North America.

I was for the first time in my life living together with strangers, in a dormitory of peers, where I had to take care of myself but also participate in an intellectual village.

It was the first time in my life that I was in an environment where women were treated as full participants in society in every way.

I was also thrust into a political environment that was unlike anything I had ever known.

I came to Harvard in 1969, at the heart of the Vietnam War, with our campus, and all of America, in political and social turmoil.

In time, I, like many of my classmates, took to the streets, took to the barricades, demanding an end to an unjust war.

And while I was in America for those four years, I participated and observed in a miracle of democracy -- I saw the power of the people changing policies, changing leaders, and changing history.

It was that early experience, possibly more than anything else, that shaped my political being that unalterably shaped my faith in democracy.

From Harvard I went to Oxford, where I became the first foreign woman to be elected as President of the Oxford Union. It was my first election, my first victory.

I had been told that as a foreigner, I could not win and should not run.

I had been told that as a woman, I could not win, and should not run.

I knew I could win, and I did.

Thus, I learned a valuable lesson: never acquiesce to obstacles, especially those that are constructed of bigotry, intolerance and blind, inflexible tradition.

I also learned another critical lesson in life -- to follow my own political instincts.

I returned to Pakistan in 1977, hoping to pursue a career in the Foreign Service.

But circumstances would soon unfold that would dictate the path of the rest of my life and change the direction of the future of my country.

Within one week of my return from Oxford, a military coup toppled the elected democratic government of my father.

Our house was surrounded by tanks. We did not know if we would live or die, if we would survive to see the dawn of the next day's sun.

A brutal, criminal dictator had overturned a free and fair election, imposed martial law, and suspended all constitutional rights within my country.

My father was arrested, released, re-arrested and finally hanged.

My party was targeted. Our leaders were murdered, tortured, imprisoned.

The lucky ones went into exile.

A political vacuum was created with the imprisonment of my Father and his colleagues.

In this vacuum, I saw many members of our Party turn towards me to lead rallies, tour the country and seek a restoration of democracy.

I did not seek leadership, it was thrust upon me. Tragedy, political circumstances, and the forces of history rallied a nation around me.

I was fortunate in my campaign to lead my nation, as my name was recognized throughout the country -- and the same people who supported my Father's vision of a modern Islamic democracy rallied around me to continue the struggle.

I was fortunate in that a political party with roots in all four federating units of the country.

It presented me with a national platform from which to launch not only the struggle for democracy but my own political career.

I also was fortunate that my father had provided me with a strong education, and the means to be economically independent.

This allowed me the time and resources to strengthen our political base.

Exposure to modern, liberal ideas and a liberal education in some of the best schools in the world certainly helped me in preparing to play the leader's role.

But it was the real, practical education which I received from my father, who took great interest in my upbringing and initiating me in debates on major contemporary issues, which prepared me most.

However, in a sense, I had no control over the events which would quickly change my fate. My course was no longer mine.

I was catapulted into politics by the force of circumstance.

When my father was executed, I was called upon by the people to take charge and pursue the mission of my father for freedom and constitutional rule.

The Pakistan Peoples Party provided me, a woman, the opportunity to lead the nation because the PPP had an enlightened, liberal message, proclaiming the equality of men and women.

This was not an easy task at a time when the military dictatorship insisted that a woman's place was behind the house and behind the veil -- not in the work place.

The different approach between our opponents and supporters on the role of women in a Muslim Society helped me in enlarging and co-opting a liberal constituency in a Muslim country where tradition and tribal customs had played a pre dominant role.

Many believe that South Asian women leaders have inherited leadership through assassination of loved ones in the family.

The other part is that each of us had to win our badges of honours by paying a political price.

I paid that political price, spending nearly six years in one form of imprisonment or another, mostly in solitary confinement, in an all pervasive climate of fear and dread.

Senior members of the party could not reconcile themselves to being led by "a chit of a woman" to use their phrase.

Bruising battles for leadership continued with the youth and second tier of the leadership supporting me over the senior leaders.

The downside of a politics born of struggle was the inadequate exposure I, and my young supporters, had to the workings of the elite and influential groups in the countries social and economic and administrative structure.

Due to the dread of the mixing with the opposition, members of the business community, bureaucracy military and judiciary kept clear of me.

I had little experience of government, not having worked myself up the ladder as a democratic system allows.

And this would remain a vulnerability when the party achieved power.

However, I gained much experience in organizational and managerial matters in running the PPP, the nation's largest and most popular party, against all obstacles.

In government, I found that the elite groups refused to accept me as a leader, simply because I was a woman, one which, perforce to circumstances, they did not know. My youth went against me too.

I remember, when I was elected my supporters were jubilant. They danced in the streets with joy. But not my opponents.

A well known religious scholar from a leading Muslim country issued an edict criticizing my election and declaring that it was un-Islamic for a woman to govern a Muslim country.

Members of the religious parties and those who had fought in the Afghan Jihad against Soviet occupation turned their political guns on me. They embarked on a mission create a religious frenzy against the authority of a woman ruler.

They printed pamphlets calling upon the people, as their religious duty, to assassinate me. They said I was a woman who had usurped a man's place in an Islamic society.

Several assassination attempts were made including one within the first month of my election.

Attempts at airports. Attempts even in Parliament.

A group of Islamic scholars within the region sought to have Pakistan thrown out of the OIC because it had violated Islamic tradition by voting for a woman.

We pre-empted this plan by a hair's breath. It was a plan against me but also against the right of all Muslim women to equal opportunity and representation at the highest levels of political office.

If I thought time was a healer, I was wrong. Every Friday, from the mosques, sermons were given inciting the people to overthrow the government.

I was saved only because the Party I led was a democratic party.

It had a popular base that provided the popular support to counter the extremist threat. We proved in Pakistan that the barriers of tradition could be broken.

We proved in Pakistan that opportunists and fanatics would not dictate our agenda. It was a victory for women every where. Especially Muslim women.

Although my opponents fulminated, calling me an Indian agent and an Israeli agent, the people supported me.

When I became Prime Minister in November of 1988 I was the youngest elected chief executive anywhere in the world, and the first Muslim woman to head a government in modern history. I was 35 years old.

That I was a woman had precipitated an early general election. (Gen. Zia and expectancy)

I have three children. As I was a woman leader in a society where men wished to exploit my condition when bearing a child, I had to keep each pregnancy a state secret.

I could not share the joy of expecting a baby openly or go shopping for prams or baby clothes. I could not afford morning sickness. Instead of being a woman, I had to act tougher than a man.

Despite the peoples support, after just 20 months, the entrenched Establishment that had supported the dictatorship, that had refused to bow to the people's will, toppled my first government, at a time when world opinion was distracted by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990.

However, the new government brought in by the security apparatus of the country fail to give Pakistan stability.

In a pattern which was to repeat itself in 1997, it launched bitter battle of persecution against its political opponents. My husband was arrested. My Parliamentarians kidnapped. Women activists tortured. Governance neglected.

Anarchy and chaos gripped the Nation.

Pakistan was on the threshold of being declared a terrorist state. Our economy was on the verge of collapse.

My party did not lose its faith in me nor did I lose my faith in politics or the people of my country.

Within three years I was re-elected a Prime Minister of Pakistan.

In reflection, I realize that being a leader in a large developing country that had been stifled by the forces of dictatorship was difficult in itself.

But being a woman made the task even more formidable. I faced greater challenges than I could have ever imagined.

It is not easy being a woman anywhere.

In many ways there are still hurdles for women to jump in Canada, although you too have elected a woman Prime Minister.

It is not easy being a successful woman in politics, education, health or finance.

Moreover, for women leaders, the obstacles are greater, the demands are greater, the barriers are greater, and the double standards are greater.

And ultimately, the expectations of those who look at us as role models are greater as well. For all women, it is critical that we succeed. Unfortunately, there are still many out there who would just as soon have us fail, to reinforce their myopic stereotypes restricting the role of women.

I recall with great empathy the words of Baroness Margaret Thatcher, who once said:

“If a woman is tough, she is pushy.

If a man is tough, gosh, he’s a great leader.”

How often, in Pakistan, Canada, all over the world, we have heard characterizations of women in politics as pushy, as aggressive, as cunning, as shrewd, as strident.

These words, if applied to men in politics, would be badges of honour!

Those of us who have chosen to serve in business, government and other professional careers have broken new ground.

We have broken the stereotypes, and we have been prepared to go the extra mile, to be judged by unrealistic standards, to be held more accountable.

Therefore, women leaders have to outperform, outdistance and out-manage men at every level.

We should not shrink from this responsibility, we should welcome it.

Welcome it on behalf of women all over the world, in cities, in rural villages and in the great universities and centers of learning, arts and culture.

For all who have suffered before, and for all who come after us, we are privileged to be in this special position, in this special time, with unique opportunities to change our countries, our continents, to change the world...and inevitably change the future.

I have not found that there are any male leaders who will agree there are differences in styles between male and female leaders.

But we female leaders, and I speak from my conversations with other women leaders, believe that female leaders are stronger and more determined.

I personally believe that women leaders are more generous and forgiving. Male leaders tend to be more inflexible, and rigid.

However, ironically, I have met many male leaders who feel that women leaders are actually more rigid.

Male leaders can learn from female counterparts how to keep people together.

Women leaders have a tradition and an historical legacy of bringing up families and creating a sense of family community and unity. This is what men leaders need to learn from women leaders.

I once asked a male leader what we female leaders could learn from them and he replied in a simple word “intrigues”.

Just as men and women can learn from one another, so can leaders from different cultures, regions and religions.

We in the East, feel that there are greater complexities in the politics of the East than there are politics of the West.

In leading people from different cultures, a leader has to keep in view and have a sensitivity toward the values of different cultural groups and make sure that the different cultural groups feel that their cultural values and mores remain intact.

A leader must also strengthen the common points to bind the different cultures together.

He or she must make pluralistic diversity into a mosaic that is strengthened, not weakened, by differences amongst our people.

In the West, people often take free choice, free speech, and human rights for granted, as a matter of right.

In the East, the leaders have not only had to battle the different political parties, but also resist the entrenched establishment.

Since many countries in the East have had long experiences of military dictatorships, their security apparatus is strong and often resists change.

Civil/military relations is something that the East and West can learn from each other.

The West needs to appreciate that the East, and I speak of the Muslim Nations in the East, are part of the same Judaic, Christian Civilization.

Ours is a religion that sanctifies Abraham, Moses and Jesus as Prophets.

When the Jews were being persecuted all over Europe, it is within the Islamic societies -- from Turkey to Kazakhstan -- that Jews sought and were granted sanctuary...and they were welcomed as brothers and sisters, to live free and prosperous.

A loving and tolerant religion whose image has been tarnished by fanatics on the fringe who preach the politics of poison.

Of course there are extremists in each society, in each country and in each century.

I am surprised to see even in America a rise in extremism -- in Christian extremism.

At the UN conference in Cairo on population planning it was surprising to see the Christian and Islamic extremists unite in seeking to deny women control of their own bodies.

Extremists, operating even now along the border of Canada, murder doctors for providing women with choice over their own reproductive life.

It is the misfortune of the Information Age that while we think we have more information for each other when in fact we have less.

We have less knowledge because the Information Age broadcast the extreme rather than the mainstream.

The mainstream in the East is very much the mainstream in the West if not more so.

The mainstream in the East is grounded in faith, in family, in our dreams for the future.

Men and women of moderation and goodwill in the East and West seek universal peace and development. It is the extremists who preach the politics of hate and violence.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have attempted, throughout my career, to combine the best of many cultures, the richness of disparate experiences.

To build for my people the ability to compete and thrive in the challenging new technological era.

Introducing the world of modern communication into Pakistan was one of the goals of my party.

We heralded the information revolution by introducing fax machines, digital pagers, optic fiber, cellular telephones, satellite dishes, Internet, the e-mail and even CNN into Pakistan.

I was proud of Pakistan when under my leadership of de-regulation; Pakistan integrated into the global economy and became one of the ten emerging capital markets of the world.

In modernizing our economy we learnt much from the West: introducing private sector financial institutions, computerizing the stock market and in Central Revenues Department, making the State Bank autonomous and referring the Corporate Law Authority.

When my government assumed management of the economy in 1993, the country's growth rate rested at a dismal 2.0%. We tripled that to 6% in three short years.

We were able to reduce our fiscal deficit three points in three years, from 8% to 5% of GDP.

We doubled tax revenue from 7.2% to 14.1%, a great accomplishment.

And due to the investment-oriented policies of the PPP government, we attracted more than \$3 billion of direct foreign investment in Pakistan – much of it from Canada.

In providing a big-push to infrastructure development, our primary target was the energy sector.

The World Bank called our energy infrastructure program a model to the entire developing world.

And it is the social sector that our accomplishments have the most special meaning to me. Possibly as a woman and as a mother I found the human cost of social neglect shocking.

Increasing literacy rates from 26% to 35% was one of our goals.

Securing women's rights by signing the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women in Beijing was another.

Prosecuting perpetrators of domestic violence helped make Pakistan a more just society.

As did recruiting women for up to 70% of teaching jobs in the new primary schools in a country where only one third could write their names with a pen.

We introduced the world of computer literacy to prepare our people for a new century, a New World.

As a woman and mother, I was particularly concerned about the conditions of health for the children of Pakistan.

Approximately 50 million child deaths are predicted in South Asia over the next decade.

Of that astounding number, 30 million are avoidable if the countries of the region embark on serious health education and health delivery programs.

In order to promote mother and child health care, we recruited and trained 50,000 village health workers in the far-flung villages of Pakistan.

With the help of this army of women, we iodized salt, eliminated polio and reduced the population growth rate from 3.1% to 2.6%.

We embarked an ambitious effort to immunize the children of Pakistan from a host of child hood diseases brought under control in other parts of the world.

I wondered, "how many potential Nobel Prize winners will be among the 30 million avoidable deaths?

How many great authors will never live to write their novels and poetry?

How many prospective great scientists who might go on to cure AIDS, to conquer cancer, to prevent strokes, will be among the thirty million children who could very well die if we did not act now?"

The WHO gave me a gold medal in recognition of Pakistan's effort in the field of health.

To protect women in society, we established special women's police forces and women's courts, to hear with understanding and sympathy cases of domestic violence and domestic abuse.

Courts and police forces for women, staffed by women.

And we created women's banks for women entrepreneurs, empowering them with the tools to start their own businesses. And yes, we allowed men to deposit their funds in the women's banks –and they did.

It was a miraculous transformation of a society, a transformation that cannot be negated by disinformation and personal attacks on me.

What we accomplished -- concretely and specifically -- is my legacy to the people of Pakistan.

We opened up education, and we opened up markets.

We opened up opportunity and we opened up foreign investment.

We opened economic development and emancipated our rural villages.

Above all, we opened up minds. We opened up individual choice.

We attacked prejudice and discrimination.

Ladies and gentlemen, leadership and courage are often synonymous.

Ultimately, leadership depends on action, daring to take actions that are necessary but unpopular, to challenge the status quo for a brighter future.

To do what is right, by educating and moving an electorate, empathizing with the moods, the needs, the wants, the hopes and the aspirations of a surging mass of humanity.

Understanding the needs of ones country people to paint a new vision on the canvas of political life in a nation's history.

Ladies and gentlemen,

In just 267 days, we will witness only for the third time in recorded history the momentous turning of the millennium.

Where and what will we be, at that extraordinary moment, when the huge ball drops and the year 2000 lights up the winter sky?

Will we be prisoners of the mind-set of the past, or will we be liberated to the endless possibilities of an historic future?

Our generation, the first in recorded history, is fundamentally empowered with the control of its own destiny.

The chains of the past -- colonialism, ignorance, dictatorship and sexism -- are broken.

The world has finally accepted, in the words of Robert Browning, that

“Ignorance is not innocence, but sin.”

We must persevere and not be intimidated by fear, not constrained by obstacles.

I remember the last words of my father to me, writing to me from his death cell, quoting Robert F. Kennedy on Tennyson:

“Every generation has a central concern, whether to end war, erase racial injustice, or improve the conditions of working people. They demand a government that speaks directly and honestly to its citizens.

The possibilities are too great, the stakes too high, to bequeath to the coming generation only the prophecy lament of Tennyson:

‘Ah, what shall I be at fifty should nature let me live...If I find the world so bitter at twenty-five.”

I remember my father’s words. I will continue to speak, to help build a newer world.

What will that world be?

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I see a Third Millennium where illiteracy, hunger and malnutrition are finally conquered.

I see a Third Millennium where human rights are universal, and self-determination unabridged anywhere on the planet.

I see a Third Millennium where consensus and comity once again guide the national and international debate.

I see a Third Millennium where government gets on with the business of addressing the pressing needs of the people.

I see a Third Millennium where every child is planned, wanted, nurture and supported.

I see a Third Millennium of tolerance and pluralism, where religions respect other religions.

And above all, I see a Third Millennium where the birth of a girl child is welcomed with the same joy as the birth of a boy.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Pakistan and Free Market Objectives
A Course of Action for the 21st Century
Address before the D-Group - London
April 15, 1999

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Good evening. I am honoured to be invited to speak here before this distinguished group of business executives, and I would like to thank the D-Group and all assembled here for extending me such warm hospitality.

I am sure that all of you gathered here today are no strangers to either the business realities of present Asia, or the explosive growth in global economic integration we have experienced during this decade.

All companies — and countries — are racing to keep pace with the revolutionary power that the new technologies of communications and transportation afford us. We are, in every sense of the word, entering a century to be dominated by the rules of a global market.

And as we enter this new and exciting era, this new century, I am convinced that the new rules of the game are simple and concrete:

In the 21st Century, nations must uphold the principles of democracy and the rule of law.

In the 21st century, governments must guarantee basic freedoms and liberties to their citizens.

In the 21st Century, regions must promote free trade with minimal state intervention, and with a policy of non-intervention and mutual respect in inter-state relations.

In the new century, the concerns of the state will be driven more by considerations of trade and commerce, rather than by our traditional military - territorial considerations. And the success of a Nation shall be based upon its level of exports, hard currency reserves, its per capita GNP, and the creative genius of its citizens.

It is becoming very clear, as we enter the coming century, that the distinguishing feature between those nations that achieve success, and those that continue to fall behind, will be the degree to which they adopt the principles of free market economics.

And it is the free market economies that are now most open to and positioned to fully participate in the increasingly competitive but interconnected global economy.

PAKISTAN'S CURRENT ECONOMIC CRISIS

Pakistan, as with the other nations of South Asia, is desperate to be a more active participant in the emerging global economy. Thus far, our economic capacity to do so has been weakened, principally due to the conflicts that plague our region, and the resources these conflicts take away from our infrastructure, our education, our human and technical development, and our creative capacities.

However, while South Asia's conflicts, in particular the seemingly intractable animosity between Pakistan and India, have had a large role to play in hindering

our region's economic growth, most devastating of late has been the domestic economic and political actions taken by the Nawaz Sharif regime.

Of most pressing concern has been the Sharif regime's attack on the Independent Power Producers in Pakistan.

My previous Administration's creation of this investment mechanism, whereby the global investment world would underwrite power projects for Pakistan was a bold and decisive move, one that brought Pakistan finally into the 20th Century.

And, I know that there are many in the United Kingdom who have been watching these developments with an uneasy eye. The current regime's refusal to abide by legal contracts and normal codes of business conduct has done more to harm Pakistan's economic prospects than any economic sanctions might hope to achieve.

Let me give you an example: During my last administration, we sought and accomplished an economic agenda with foreign investment and privatization as our chief goals. By 1996, direct foreign investment into Pakistan was up to \$3 billion per year.

Since the Sharif regime took power, attacked the IPPs and froze foreign currency accounts, direct foreign investment into Pakistan has fallen to zero.

We had a choice then and continue to have one now: either continue down the path of living off of aid and hand-outs from the global economy, or open our doors, our policies and our practices so that we, too, may participate in the benefits and competition of this new era.

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, before I continue down this path of criticizing the Sharif regime -- a topic some would say is too near my heart -- let me turn to how Pakistan can reopen to the world, and the steps that are needed to revitalize our economy.

THE PATH TO ECONOMIC RECOVERY

First and foremost, it is critical for Pakistan to again establish the trust and confidence of the international investor community. As we have seen in Mexico, Thailand and other nations of late, receiving and retaining the confidence of fickle investors is no easy task. However, as sovereign governments the world over become less able and have less resources for hand-outs, there is no other road for Pakistan to pursue.

To achieve this confidence and trust, Pakistan must ease the economic constraints imposed upon it, and here I lay out the programs of my party, the Pakistan Peoples Party:

Privatization: We must increase the pace of privatization, but do so with a human face, and within this theme, we must reduce and eventually eliminate subsidies to bloated industries.

Reducing public debt: The government is borrowing too much, leaving the private sector starved for loans for growth, inventory, education or infrastructure. To reduce the public debt, it is paramount that our tax base be widened to include even the current Prime Minister and his cabinet. We can achieve a higher total tax return by increasing attention to vigilant collection rather than higher rates. Too much of our economy is now in the 'black market', and our next government will take active steps to bring this back into the mainstream.

Education, health and Human Development: As many of you know, Pakistan remains burdened by a high rate of population growth, as well as high illiteracy. Channeling our scarce resources from military expenditures at or above 7,000 meters into education and family planning is the first step.

Reduce tariffs: We can increase trade by reducing tariffs. As it stands now, too much of the goods and services entering Pakistan are done so illegally. Thus, by reducing tariffs, we feel we can actually increase revenue to federal programs, as well as stimulate more economic exchange.

Lastly and perhaps most difficult, is a radical restructuring of our ingrained business habits. These less tangible but perhaps most critical notions include fostering sound business practices, transparency, promoting efficient and good governance, eradicating corruption, and most important of all, fostering an unshakeable faith in the rule of law, not the rule of graft.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Pakistan is facing one of its hardest and most pressing economic crises in our history.

But there is hope.

We have in the past and can in the future, with the right policies, the right direction and the right intention, turn our crisis into opportunity.

And I hope, when the people of Pakistan make those decisions, that this group and your colleagues will again be there to grow with us.

I thank you for your time, and I look forward to hearing any comments or questions.

Global Free Trade and South Asia
Address before the London Breakfast Club
April 16, 1999

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am honoured to be asked to appear before this distinguished group, and thank the sponsors and this group of accomplished business executives, diplomats and Members of Parliament for extending me such warm hospitality.

As the world focuses on the atrocities of Kosovo, and makes attempts in fits and starts to respond as a cohesive global community to the bloodshed unleashed by the Serbian dictator, it is fitting that, as we stand on the threshold of a new century, such a diverse group is gathered in London discussing the future of Asian business, a city so far away from Asian realities yet becoming closer in trade and financial ties with each new treaty passage.

I know that all gathered here today are no strangers to either the business realities of present Asia, or the explosive growth in global economic integration we have experienced during this decade.

All companies -- and countries -- are racing to keep pace with the revolutionary power that the new technologies of communications and transportation afford us. We are, in every sense of the word, entering a century to be dominated by the rules of a global market.

And as we enter this new and exciting era, this new century, I am convinced that the new rules of the game are simple and concrete:

In the 21st Century, nations must uphold the principles of democracy and the rule of law.

In the 21st century, governments must guarantee basic freedoms and liberties to their citizens.

In the 21st Century, regions must promote free trade with minimal state intervention, and with a policy of non-intervention and mutual respect in inter-state relations.

In the new century, the concerns of the state will be driven more by considerations of trade and commerce, rather than by our traditional military - territorial considerations. And the success of a Nation, as we head towards a new century, shall be based upon its level of exports, hard currency reserves, its per capita GNP, and the creative genius of its citizens.

In our lifetime, achieving near complete free trade worldwide appears achievable, if not unstoppable.

GLOBAL FREE TRADE: EU LEADERSHIP

I came here to comment on trade and South Asia within the larger international context, and the halting but positive steps that we are taking to improve the business environment in our vibrant but still hampered region.

Before focusing on South Asia, however, let me take a moment to look at the progress being made worldwide for free trade.

First and of precedent-setting importance is the example that you, the European Union, are providing to the rest of humanity. Let us not mince words: The EU is a revolutionary breakthrough in international relations, the ramifications of which are not yet fully understood.

Many around the world have been watching with both astonishment and some envy as the European nations have been able to create one of the world's largest single markets in human history, and this without bloodshed or military conquest. Let us not underestimate the accomplishment of creating the European Common market by states whose entire history together has been one of war, animosity and mistrust.

The desire for the creation of 'super-economic zones' like the EC, was driven by smaller states seeking to effectively compete economically with the economic superpowers of the day, namely the United States and Japan. The GNP of America is (US\$ 8 trillion) and of Japan (US\$ 5 trillion). Only after combining the 10 'First World' European economies can the combined EC GNP compete (at US\$ 7 trillion).

All this has been accomplished without a single bullet being fired. Huge territories, nations and populations peacefully agreed to redefine their economic borders, and to co-exist with each other in the better interests of their future well being. The EC's formation is truly a model case of the new paradigm, where economically we enter an increasingly 'Borderless World' while maintaining our national sovereignty. In essence, the EC member states are 'pooling' their economic sovereignty in creating a free trade zone and a common currency, thus

submerging their narrow national interests for the greater good of the whole European Community.

THE RACE FOR GLOBAL FREE TRADE

And, with the birth of the European Common Market and common currency, we are now witnessing the unleashing of a global race for ever-larger free trade blocs and trade zones, and at a pace and scale unprecedented in human history.

On two fronts, the European Common Market itself is moving with utmost speed to expand its model on a global level.

With the Far East, the EC and the ASEAN nations are in serious discussions to lower tariffs. This new development, known as ASEM (Asia-Europe Organization), just concluded its second year of high level discussions. The fruit bearing trees have been planted.

At the most recent ASEM meeting in Berlin, EU President German Foreign Minister Fischer suggested a new Euro-Asia free trade zone, and through this, creation of "a stable world financial and monetary system". Asian nations now actively engaged in this process include Brunei, China, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Thailand and Vietnam.

In the opposite direction, the EU, under Spanish leadership, is moving quickly to establish free trade relationships between the EU and the South American nations. I understand that a multilateral summit to move forward this new free trade zone will be held next year, and it appears that unless the Americans can move at least as fast as the Europeans, South American trade may move more freely into European households than into those in America. The irony is not lost that in one short decade after the ending of the Cold War, American economic hegemony in its own hemisphere could be so severely challenged.

But the Europeans are not the only nations moving rapidly to dismantle old trade barriers. In Africa -- all too often left out of the global economic debates -- the nations of South and Eastern Africa are quickly moving to create their own version of the European Common Market. This new trading bloc, now known as the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (or COMESA), has set an ambitious but achievable goal of eliminating tariffs within their bloc by the year 2000. For Africa as a whole, and the 21 nations participating in COMESA, this is indeed promising news.

In the Western Hemisphere, while there seems to be a delay in the expansion of NAFTA, I do not doubt that NAFTA, too, shall expand throughout the Western Hemisphere. As the largest free trade bloc in the world, the economics of

Canada, the U.S. and Mexico continue to seek expansion of their model throughout the entire Western Hemisphere. The new EC competition for South America may urge NAFTA to heightened urgency.

And even among the states of the former Soviet Union, high level talks within the former USSR are gaining momentum for a new free trade zone, led by the institution of the former Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). For all of those nations, this is a needed and positive development, and should be given as much support and encouragement from the international community as are current IMF rescue packages.

THE SLOW PATH OF SOUTH ASIA

In this context of fierce global competition for the creation and expansion of free trade zones, I turn lastly to South Asia.

South Asia has been for far too long a region teetering on the edge of catastrophe.

For fifty years, we have been at each other's throats. We have fought four wars, and the last war dismembered my nation. Our troops, as we speak, fire at each other in the frozen wasteland called Siachen, which has become a metaphor for the senselessness that we have allowed to continue for half a century.

But there is hope.

Six weeks ago in Islamabad, I was privileged to participate in the first Indian-Pakistan All Parliamentarians Conference. This historic meeting brought together parliamentarians from all parties from both India and Pakistan.

Over the course of my lifetime -- a few years less than the conflict between India and Pakistan -- such a meeting between our two nations has been unprecedented.

At that meeting, as our joint political leadership sought common ground for our regional problems, I unveiled an economic vision for South Asia.

It is time for South Asia to fully participate in the explosion of global trade, and for our respective governments to set-aside territorial ambitions and seek economic progress for our peoples and our region.

To the joint delegation, I proposed that the nations of South Asia now embark on an accelerated path of economic cooperation and follow the leadership of the European nations.

I call this the Asian Free Zone. As you may notice, the word 'trade' is omitted, and for reason, as it is time that we, one fifth of the world's population, tackle more than trade.

THE ASIAN FREE ZONE

But let us first start with trade. Based on our analysis, my recommendation is that the Asian Free Zone be created in two phases. In Phase I, the South Asian nations agree to form a free economic zone along the lines of NAFTA. This zone should comprise first all SAARC countries, with a secondary but not overly delayed inclusion of Iran, Turkey and the Muslim nations of the former CIS.

Prior to coming here, and the disappointing recent SAARC ministers' meeting in Sri Lanka, I had proposed that a SAARC free trade zone would require one decade to fully establishing. It has been my sense that a full decade was needed to allow the founding members to reach a critical phase in their economic development and in their per capita income.

With the pace of free trade expansion globally, however, one decade is too long for this small step for South Asia. We must achieve a free trade zone among the SAARC nations by 2005, or the peoples of South Asia will again be left on the sidelines of the global economic engine.

Following a successful integration of the SAARC economies, Iran, Turkey and the Muslim CIS states, we propose entering Phase II, including the giant of China into our regional system, a goal that we must achieve by 2010.

The states of the 'Asian Free Zone' would be independent sovereign nations sharing on the pattern of the EC:

- (1) a free economic trade zone
- (2) a common Central Bank with a common trading currency
- (3) a common security policy, and ultimately
- (4) a common revolving Presidency and Parliament (like the EC Presidency and Parliament).

Even the smallest member state, such as Sri Lanka through this cooperation could have a chance to be the President of the 'superpower' Asian Zone.

In short, by 2010, I propose a free trade zone encompassing some 3 billion people with a GNP of US\$ 7 trillion (based upon 1998 'Purchasing Power Parity').

The nations included in this new zone by that point could be the SAARC nations, with Afghanistan, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgystan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, and finally, China.

This is a vision of an Asian Free Zone, roughly 2/3 of which would be China, and 1/3 SAARC and Muslim CIS States. Our Asian Free Zone could then be at the same level, in GNP terms, as the EC, US or Japan.

With roughly 50% of the World's population located in the Asian Free Zone, we would have an economic market with considerable weight, influence and clout in the 21st Century.

FIRST WITH SAARC

First, however, our challenge is to solidify the SAARC nations.

The South Asian region encompassing Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka has a common and shared history. We speak the same language. Our colour is the same. Our thinking, values, pre-47 history and culture is the same. We have a multi-religious society with Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees, Buddhists, and others.

Each in our respective countries believes in freedom of religion, in safety and security resisting outside coercion or intervention. In Dubai, Singapore, or London, a representative sample of the entire gamut of our population and religious spectrum has learnt to co-exist peacefully.

Within the SAARC nations, we have similar per capita income.

We are in similar stages of economic development. We all share a common legal system based on English Law.

We all have free market-based economies.

We all share English as a common language for Government and business.

And, perhaps most importantly, we all share a common history and culture.

NEW RULES FOR SOUTH ASIA

The essence of the new paradigm for South Asia is to organize government and economic affairs in a manner which delivers the maximum progress to the regional population in the shortest period of time, with the least wastage in resources.

The fastest route to economic development and growth for our suffering people is the generation of critical economic mass through the formation of larger ' economic free zones'.

Unless South Asia pulls itself out of the quagmire of poverty, prejudice and past conflicts, our people will remain slaves within the global economy, carrying-out menial low paying tasks for the richer citizens of the First World.

The choice for us is stark and simple: either continue as warring sovereign states who continue to carry the "Third World" label for the next 100 years, or pool our resources to create an Asian economic powerhouse comparable to the EC.

STEPS FORWARD

And to achieve this new era for South Asia, we must make concrete steps on an urgent basis, or again be left behind:

1. Cease abusing the trust and confidence of the international rules of commerce. In Pakistan specifically, there has been perhaps no greater damage to our economy and our integration into the global economic system than the senseless and politically motivated attack on the Independent Power Producers. Foreign investors are rightly outraged, and many others have been scared off. Pakistan must uphold and value contracts signed.
2. Accelerating the current SAFTA talks. We can not wait until 2002 to create the first small step for lowering tariffs among the SAARC nations. Let us move these timetables up at least one year.
3. Entering immediately into free trade discussions with the EC and ASEAN nations. Free trade among larger trading blocs takes time. Just as the EC and the Far East have entered a long-term process, so too should South Asia.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have already taken too much of your time this morning.

In closing, I propose to you the notion that if the nations of South Asia continue to close our borders both among ourselves and towards the larger global economy, our region risks suffering a similar fate to that of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and other dismembered nations.

If we are to be partners in the emerging global economy, we must act swiftly to open our borders, ease our trade restrictions and more fully integrate with our neighbors.

A new world is quickly taking shape, one where openness among nations is the path to survival and progress.

The people of South Asia cannot afford to wait a full decade for free trade in our region.

Indeed, we must be fully open with the world economy within a decade.

This is my vision for an Asian Free Zone.

I invite your questions or comments.

**Excerpts of address Woodrow Wilson Centre-Washington
May 25, 1999**

Talking about fascism in Pakistan she said "It is as if we had slipped fifteen years into the past, when I came to Washington after my release as a political prisoner in 1984 to plead the case of Pakistani democracy in the halls of Congress, to the administration, the press and the academy. Now, like then, we see human rights abused and trampled. Now, like then, we see Religious Fanatics, Extremists and Fundamentalists dictating national policies -- writing the laws, manipulating the Parliament, assaulting the independent judiciary. Now, like then, we see fear and raw force ruling Pakistan like an iron fist. Then it was General Zia-ul-Haq now, it is Nawaz Sharif".

Speaking about Nawaz Sharif's bid for a totalitarian and dictatorial rule she said "There is no limit to what Nawaz Sharif will do to reshuffle the chemistry of politics in Pakistan, to destroy any last vestiges of a political opposition, a free press, an independent judiciary, even an independent military. He is a man of no constraints, no limits, no laws. There has never in the history of Pakistan been so much raw and unchallenged power concentrated in the hands of one person. Not even under General Zia ul Haq were institutions, laws and human dignity so openly, shamelessly and repeatedly violated with impunity".

About her victimization by Nawaz Sharif she said, "Nawaz Sharif is a man of no constraints, no limits, no laws. Nawaz Sharif has brought charge after charge against me, based on these blatant violations of due process and the simplest elements of justice. Murder, conspiracy, corruption, kickbacks -- my husband and I have been accused of everything under the sun -- from patronage to pollution to pilfering. And when one of these concocted cases -- based on overtly forged documents and testimony elicited under torture -- was brought forward,

it was sent to a Justice who is the son of the man who hanged my father. There is no subtlety in this regime".

She further said "Nawaz Sharif will show no limits, will exercise no constraints, is bound by no laws in pursuit of what he and his dictator mentor have worked so hard for so long -- the destruction of the Bhuttos, the Pakistan Peoples Party and the democratic movement of Pakistan in pursuit of imposing a theocratic state run by fanatics. It is an insatiable thirst, an irrational and reckless obsession -- threatening the very foundations of a Pakistan built on the principles of constitution, rule of law and freedom".

She said "Unlike the Sharif family, which while in government turned a small business into a cartel worth billions, I had neither the need nor desire to defraud my people. For better or worse my family has been one of the leading landed families of Sindh for generations, and my father left me well provided".

Describing Nawaz fascist regime she said "The new fascist regime has banned popular music on television in Pakistan, calling it decadent. It has refused to condemn murderers of women committed in the name of honour. It has refused, despite a constitutional majority, to restore women's seats to Parliament. The new fascist regime has suspended the elected Assembly in our country's second largest province and established military courts for summary trials. The new fascist regime, has hanged people after summary trials, has engaged in terrorism as a daily occurrence, has assaulted the position of minorities in society, and has all but decimated the free press. The new fascist regime has forced girls in schools to wear the veil, and has set the cause of women in Pakistan back a full generation".

She said that the free press in Pakistan is being trampled over and "Newspaper editors have been kidnapped, tortured and detained. Najam Sethi, the distinguished editor of the independent Friday Times, was arrested by the police, literally dragged from his bed in the middle of the night, physically tortured, mentally abused, not permitted to see his family or lawyers. This brutality went on for over two weeks, causing the United States government and the international community to denounce Nawaz's brutality. Sethi still rots in a Class C cell. And what was his crime? Making a speech critical of the human rights record of the Nawaz regime -- this is an offense in fascist Pakistan, this is what triggers arrest and torture. Independent journalists have disappeared, kidnapped in the middle of the night and taken away to torture cells recreating the atmosphere of Argentina under the generals' junta. Columnists who have been critical of the regime have been beaten and had their bones broken and families threatened, like the former Pakistani Ambassador to Sri Lanka, Hussain Haqqani.

Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto warned the world "Like Zia before him, Nawaz is attempting to manipulate Islam for his own power. He already has a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly Parliament, and is only a few votes shy of a two-thirds majority in the Senate. After next February, when he will pack fully one-third of the Senate with his handpicked cronies, he will have every card in the deck. He will not only control every institution of power and politics, every element of the media and the military, but will have the ability to amend the Constitution at will. And then his dictatorship will be complete".

Pakistan's Political Crisis and Human Rights Record

Delivered at New York

A lecture organized by US Committee for Human Rights

May 30, 1999

1. Distinguished members of the Human Rights Committee and Guests,
2. I address you at a difficult time in our country, Pakistan's, history. A time when our country is facing external and internal threats which are a source of anguish and concern for all patriotic citizens.
3. This weeks flare up in the Kashmir sector at Kargill has demonstrated once again how fragile a thread maintains the peace in a volatile part of the world. Our region South Asia has become one of the global tinderboxes, which can explode at any moment.
4. We have seen how quickly the euphoria built around the Lahore Declaration signed this Spring evaporated as Kashmiri freedom fighters took advantage of melting snows to cross over into Indian occupied Kashmir and take over the trenches built by Indian troops. Helicopter gunships and MIG fighter planes have already been used – and some downed.
5. Such a flare-up in a region, which has just demonstrated awesome power through weapons of mass destruction can only increase instability as it, threatens peace.
6. It is a time when all sane voices will call upon the leadership of the two newly acquired nuclear powers to keep the rhetoric down and work quickly to defuse a tension which can accidentally blow out of hand into a holocaust. India and Pakistan need to learn to manage disputes, a task which unfortunately has evaded us for the last fifty years.

7. The last fifty years of the history of the Sub-Continent bear mute testimony to the havoc that the unresolved Dispute over Jammu and Kashmir has wrought in our region. Recall the Kashmiri uprising which engulfed the two newborn Nations, the Rann of Katch Dispute, the September War and finally the armed invasion which led to the breakup of Pakistan.

8. The Simla Agreement negotiated between Prime Ministers Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Indira Gandhi in 1972 has given the region the longest lasting peace. Yet this has been a fragile peace. A peace which has come near to breaking down several times in the last thirty years. A peace, which has been narrowly sustained at the cost of diverting billions of rupees by both countries from poverty alleviation programs into military arsenals. Ironically, the break-up of Pakistan saw both India and Pakistan go in for larger and bigger armies than the ones they had in 1971. The military buildup has been accompanied by a dangerous proliferation race, which threatens the South Asian region.

9. The Indian Nuclear detonation in 1974 was followed by Pakistan's efforts to meet the threat by acquiring nuclear technology. The Indian decision to build missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads was met with Pakistan's decision to build nuclear warheads, which could target Indian cities.

10. The Pakistan Peoples Party is committed to Non-Proliferation. If we have followed the proliferation path, we have followed it not because we believe in proliferation but because we saw no other way to defend the security and territorial integrity of Pakistan. Quaid-e-Awam had to acknowledge the Indian nuclear program by building one for Pakistan. The Pakistan Peoples Party did not want Pakistan to put together a nuclear device unless Pakistan's security was at stake. That PPP doctrine adopted in 1989 held force until May 1997 when India detonated devices and the Pakistani leadership, believing Pakistani security to be at risk, held a series of detonations.

11. As far as missiles were concerned, the Missile doctrine adopted by the Peoples Government was two fold. First to alert the world community to help build a zero-missile regime in the region and prevent a missile race. Second, while working for a zero missile regime in South Asia, to establish a Missile Technology Board to respond to the threat posed to every major Pakistani city except Quetta by nuclear capable missiles in India which could hit us with only 5 minutes warning time.

12. It was a tragic day for South Asia when the proliferation line was crossed in May 1998. One had hoped that the two Nations could have worked out a South Asia free of Nuclear Weapons with a Zero Missile regime. It was not to be.

13. When India decided to test fire its medium range missile this April, the Pakistan peoples party called upon the regime not to copycat India with a Photostat response. The Missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads had been developed by the Pakistan Peoples Party Government in the event of an attack on Pakistan. In the absence of an attack on Pakistan, there was no need for Pakistan to have test fired in a show of bravado. Had Pakistan restrained from responding to India's action, Pakistan could have taken the high moral ground secure in the knowledge of its own strength. India would have been roundly condemned by the world community.

14. In fact, since the Indian detonations on May 11, 1998, the Pakistan peoples Party has been calling for a revision of Pakistan's foreign policy of the last fifty years. All the arms we could acquire, including the weapons of mass destruction, have not stopped war, conflict, tension, and flare-ups in the region.

15. The Pakistan peoples Party has called upon Pakistan to identify its core security. Pakistan must have the wisdom to delink itself from Indian foreign policy if it is to avoid what the Americans did to the former Soviet Union. The Cold War came to an end because the United States kept upping the ante, the Soviet Union kept responding until the day came when the economy of the Soviet Union could no longer sustain or maintain the system. The Soviet Union then collapsed and disintegrated.

16. It is valuable to recall that the former Soviet Union was up to its brow in nuclear weapons, missiles and all sorts of armaments. However, it did not have wheat to feed its people. Security as we head towards the twenty-first century is based less on the might of militaries and more on the might of markets. This is the lesson that the end of the Cold War has left. Either Nations will adopt the lessons or they will make the mistakes and Pay the price.

17. The Pakistan peoples Party has called upon Pakistan to sign the CTBT without waiting for India to do so. Our security is enhanced, not diminished, by our delinking with India, taking the high moral ground and taking a route which the international community would wish to reward, a reward which could help the starving masses of Pakistan.

18. It is also time for Pakistani leaders to look beyond their own partisan political interests to the larger national issues and the welfare of the common man. It was in that spirit that following the Indian missile tests that the PPP called upon the regime not to follow suit.

19. As we look around us to see how Nations progress, we see that the ones, which have moved forward, are the ones that have concentrated on the

economies of scale. America, Europe and the more prosperous East Asian states have all moved in the direction of larger economic entities recognizing the wisdom of the economies of scale. This is a world very different than the one at the end of World War two when the big three gathered at Yalta and with their pens redrew the map of the world. This is a world that has been dramatically changed by the Information Revolution that recognizes no territorial boundaries. It is a world dominated by the free flow of ideas, information, technology, finance, commerce, and communication. If we are to take our people out of the squalor of poverty and backwardness, this is the world we need to join.

20. But how can we build a free economic zone on the pattern of NAFTA, ASEAN, APEC or the European Community if we insist on scaring investors away with proliferation races, disputes which threaten peace and stability and lawlessness which leads to insecurity.

21. We need to appreciate that the tactics of the last fifty years have failed. New thoughts and ideas are necessary without compromising on principles. We need also to appreciate that much of our Budget during the Cold War was underwritten by billions of dollars of foreign aid. That foreign aid has now dried up. The money for sustaining those policies is no longer there.

22. The Pakistan Peoples Party believes that Pakistan and India can learn much from the peaceful models of change which the Middle East process has thrown up. Specifically, our two countries can learn from the example of Jordan and Israel. Both these countries have opened up their border to allow for the free flow of people.

23. Pakistan and India can follow this example. Without prejudice to the position of both the parties and without prejudice to the United Nations Security Council Resolutions, both countries could open up the line of control, allowing people from Muzaffarabad and Srinagar to move freely y back and forth. Of course this would have to be accompanied by India withdrawing its army of occupation from Srinagar and Pakistan monitoring its area to prevent insurgents from crossing the border.

24. It is naïve for India to believe that Pakistan, which has tremendous sympathy for the Kashmir people, would police the border for India without relief for the Kashmir people. It is incorrect to think that Pakistan is sending the insurgents. It is more correct to believe that many who fought for freedom in the Afghan Jihad have found a new cause to fight for in Kashmir. With sympathy for the Kashmir people high, many Pakistanis are only too happy to turn a blind eye as to what happens at the border when young men and women risk their lives to cross over.

25. However, if the external threat is worrying, the internal situation is of as much concern. The human rights record of the present regime is one which has shaken the Pakistani people as a whole.

26. It is almost as if time had reversed itself. Pakistan has in many ways gone back into the past.

27. Now, as then, we see an attempt to concentrate all power in the hands of one man.

28. Now, as then, we see political institutions being systematically dismantled and destroyed.

29. Now, as then, we see political opponents shamelessly hounded and persecuted.

30. Now, as then, we see journalists who dare to print the truth made targets of violence.

31. Now, as then, we see the harassment of organized labor and government employees.

32. We see Pakistan isolated in the international community.

33. We see the business community intimidated from investing in a lawless regime that freezes foreign currency accounts protected by constitutional guarantees.

34. We see a regime which bars ordinary Pakistanis from repatriating their hard earned income while it itself opens banks after hours to illicitly remove millions of dollars and sacks the intelligence chief who protests.

35. We see fear and raw force ruling Pakistan like an iron fist.

36. Then it was General Zia ul-Haq.

37. Now, it is Nawaz Sharif, his political heir.

38. But fascism is fascism.

39. As it is said, "If one does not learn from the lessons of history, one repeats its mistakes."

40. Ladies and gentlemen,

41. Unless the nightmare engulfing civil society in Pakistan is ended, our people will have no hope, no opportunities, and no future.

42. This is a regime of fascists bent on destroying all democratic checks and balances which has orchestrated a campaign as Yahya did against Mujib, Zia did against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to destroy a political leadership and with it the aspirations of the people who look towards it.

43. The witch-hunt against the Opposition is just one link in an ugly chain of events against institutions upon which freedom is built.

44. This is about destroying democracy in the name of corruption. This is about eliminating the leadership of the Pakistan Peoples Party through an abuse of the judicial system. Then it was murder, now it is commissions. Then it was a physical death. Now it is a political death. But the aim is the same, although it is an aim that strikes at the very heart of the federal principle.

45. In cases like these, leaders of one federating unit are taken to be tried in another federating unit as though the judicial institutions of their home provinces cannot be trusted. At such times, the lower trial court avenue is denied, the trial is restricted, judges adversely affected by governmental decisions insist on hearing the case, despite a vote of no confidence in them by the defendants.

46. The resources of the state -- the police, the Courts, the state controlled press, secret service expenditure of millions of dollars, is used along with torture and intimidation of government servants to procure perjured statements and obstruct the course of justice.

47. The intent of the regime is clear. Destroy the Opposition and with it a credible national alternative so that the forces of oppression, repression and misrule can continue their reign uninterrupted for the next twenty years. Their model is Indonesia's Soeharto. A state, whose political fortunes are to be subordinated to the rapacious financial greed of a family which, along with its cronies, has already cornered the Textile, Sugar, Bank, Cement, and edible oil business in Pakistan. The power projects are the only main area where the multinationals, and not the Mafia, have control. Hence, the multinationals have also been made the target of the Mafia, which wants to control the commanding heights of Pakistan's economy.

48. There is method in this madness. The aim is to control all political and economic power and sanctify it by exploiting religious sentiment. It is a repetition of what earlier occurred in Sudan and in Afghanistan where power and finance are controlled by a cartel, the people suffer in poverty and are kept cowed down through the brute force of repression. This is not the future we wish to bequeath to our youth and to our future generations.

49. We have to choose. The time has come. We have to choose between the forces of the past and the forces of the future. Between those who would impose a theocracy and those who would modernize, between those who would isolate and those who would globalize, between those who would close down the country and those who would open it up to the outside world.

50. A regime born in intrigue and apprenticed in a military dictatorship lacks the vision to steer the country in the direction of progress as we head towards the twenty-first century. This was an intrigue between President Leghari and Mr. Nawaz Sharif to overthrow the modernising force of the democratically elected Pakistan Peoples Party Government which had pioneered Pakistan into the world of deregulation and decentralisation of financial institution to give the common man a hope of a better life. It was not only to overthrow the Pakistan Peoples Party but also to knock out with it the policies of globalisation through which the PPP sought to create employment and opportunity for the hardworking people of Pakistan. The PPP was replaced with a prejudiced interim government with the mission to hold biased, prejudiced, partial election through rigging and fraud.

51. The law of the land was changed to enable Nawaz Sharif and his brother to contest, as defaulters were not eligible to run for Parliament. The Law Minister, Justice Fakhruddin, resigned in protest when the law was changed. Another law was passed in the name of accountability to hound the prominent leaders of the PPP during the elections. No cases were brought against the PML. Bureaucrats, Bankers, Businessmen, Diplomats were all arrested by the Leghari-Nawaz combine, tortured and asked to commit perjury to promote the agenda of confusing the people of Pakistan about their genuine elected representatives. The state controlled television was full of were lurid stories drummed up by propaganda war experts. The murder of the Prime Minister's brother was exploited to falsely blame the Prime Minister's husband with a view to confuse and dishearten PPP workers.

52. Yet the PPP heroically fought on, refusing to boycott an election so blatantly biased because it believed that a boycott would lead to the interruption of the democratic process and play into the hands of religious extremists.

53. During the elections, the PPP disclosed that computers had been bought and installed to rig the election results by hacking into the computer of the election commission of Pakistan. Reports that one Khayyam Kaiser masterminded this hacking need investigation. At any rate, two different sets of electoral lists were distributed. The results did not come in after voting closed at 4.00 p.m. on the pretext that the polling staff were busy with Iftari and then with Tarravi prayers. The results were still being counted twenty-four hours later after polls closed. That is how Nawaz Sharif got a majority bigger than Quaid e Azam.

54. The Pakistani people knew that 1997 was another farce on the pattern of 1990. So they boycotted the elections. The turnout according to international observers was only 18 %. That means 82 % boycotted the election. The Supreme Court of Pakistan is presently seized with a petition where the Inter Services Intelligence has admitted that it was ordered to pay millions of dollars worth of campaign funds to anti-PPP candidates to keep the PPP out of the elections of 1990. I am sure the day will come when others will come forward to testify as to how the elections of 1997 were rigged.

55. Having won a fraudulent mandate, Mr. Nawaz Sharif began his term driven by insecurity, paranoia and the politics of revenge. He was more concerned with cornering the different levers of power than with governing the nation. He and his supporters drew up a plan to impose a theocracy in Pakistan by exploiting the name of religion. They decided that the threat to their rule could come from the following quarters: first, the Pakistan Peoples Party leadership, second, the Armed Forces, third the Judiciary, fourth the Presidency, fifth the free Press.

Ladies and gentlemen,

56. The assault Nawaz Sharif launched on the institutions of democracy in Pakistan over the last two and half years is a calculated, methodological manipulation of every office, of every force, of every value of pluralism in Pakistan.

57. Look at the record.

58. Nawaz Sharif brought down an elected President and substituted a puppet of his own choosing.

59. A Man whose nomination the Chief Election Commissioner had rejected for committing contempt of court.

60. The judge who would later sentence the Leader of Opposition overruled the Chief Election Commissioner and allowed Tarrar to contest the elections. The

Chief Election Commissioner lost his job for doing his duty as Nawaz Sharif then went on to sack him.

61. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan and other honourable Judges of the apex court were hearing a corruption case against the Prime Minister. They were attacked and had to flee the courtroom. The mob that attacked the Supreme Court of Pakistan was shown on the television, including Federal ministers. After the Judges fled, the mob leaders were garlanded with roses.

62. The military did not escape unscathed either. Jehangir Karamat the Chief of Army Staff who had bailed out Nawaz Sharif at the time of the conflict with Farooq Leghari was unceremoniously sacked despite the demoralizing Affect it had on the Armed Forces for displeasing the rulers with a speech he gave at a Naval function. The Navy and Air Force chiefs were not spared either. Stories of corruption about them were leaked to the press demoralizing their forces through a media trial.

63. The Opposition was physically assaulted with members suffering injuries. Nawaz Sharif ordered brick, batten and other attacks by the police against parliamentarians -- including myself.

64. Nawaz Sharif created under a special law an Ehtesab Bureau of so-called political accountability as a mechanism of victimization against the opposition.

65. Nawaz Sharif is a man of no constraints, no limits, no laws.

66. Ladies and gentlemen, I do not fear justice, I welcome it.

67. The charges against me are concocted. I want you, my Pakistani compatriots, to know that I served you, with my Party, to the best of our abilities. I may have made mistakes during my tenure as Prime Minister and there are things that I would choose to do differently. But it is important to learn from the past to reach out to the future.

68. I come here to affirm to you that the Pakistan peoples Party is true to its roots as a modernizing force seeking to emancipate the people of Pakistan. We believe in freedom and have always fought for freedom. We believe that government needs to shrink, concentrating on social obligations. It is not the job of the state to tell people how they should worship, what sect they should belong to, what cultural ceremonies they should observe. People must be free, free to Be Muslims, Christians, Hindus as long as they are good Pakistanis. Our people must be free, free to be Sunnis and Shias as long as they are good Pakistanis. Our

people must be free to be Pathans, Punjabis, Muhajirs, Baloch, Sindhis, and Kashmiri's as long as they are good Pakistanis.

69. Religious violence and intolerance has crept into our body politic because the state has taken on much of what ought to be in the individual's DOMAIN. It has created divisiveness, sectarianism, persecution of minorities and it has made us fearful and ashamed. We cannot be proud when worshippers at a gravesite are shot dead or when armed police guards Mosques on the sacred occasion of Eid. But we need to go beyond fear and shame. We need to overcome the social barriers that extremists seek to erect, we need to define the responsibilities of the state and we need to define the responsibilities of the individual.

70. It cannot make us proud when we read that every twelve hours, one Pakistani kills himself because he cannot afford to live. The plight of the common man cannot make us proud. Our Fathers cannot keep their jobs; our sons cannot find jobs; our traders cannot trade, our sisters find it hard to shop and feed their children. Nearly two thirds of our people cannot use the pen whilst in other parts of the world the pen is being discarded for the computer. We need schools, we need hospitals, we need health care, and above all we need hope that we can have a better future. It is time for us to come together as a Nation, to heal ourselves, to bind the wounds that fester, to review policies both internal and external which have failed in the last half century, failed to give us peace, progress or justice.

71. We need democracy and development, not fascism and fear.

72. Fascism is a tough word. But again, let's look at the PML record.

73. It has refused to condemn murderers of women committed in the name of honour. It has refused, despite a constitutional majority, to restore women's seats to Parliament.

74. It has suspended the elected Assembly in our country's second largest province and established military courts for summary trials.

75. It has hanged people after summary trials, has engaged in state terrorism assaulted the position of minorities in society, and all but decimated the free press.

76. No constraints. No limits. No laws.

77. Newspaper editors have been kidnapped, tortured and detained. Najam Sethi, the distinguished editor of the independent Friday Times, was arrested by

the police, literally dragged from his bed in the middle of the night, physically tortured, mentally abused, not permitted to see his family or lawyers.

78. Columnists critical of the regime have been beaten and had their bones broken like the former Pakistani Ambassador to Sri Lanka, Hussain Haqqani.

79. The military has been dispatched to collect water bills and check electricity meters, sending a clear signal to the people about the breakdown of a civil society.

80. After next February, when he will pack fully one-third of the Senate with his handpicked cronies, Nawaz Sharif and the PML will have every card in the deck.

81. They will not only control every institution of power and politics, every element of the media and the military, but will have the ability to amend the Constitution at will. And then the dictatorship will be complete.

82. Victor Hugo once said that “a stand can be made against invasion of an army, but no stand can be made by an invasion of an idea.”

83. The power of democracy, the force of free political parties, the vitality of a strong press, the contribution of functioning NGOs, the integrity of an independent Judiciary, the inevitability of the rights of women in modern society -- all of these forces are more powerful than the PML's tyranny.

84. These are the forces of history, and they cannot be denied, and they cannot be defeated.

85. When the Pakistan Peoples Party took over in 1988, Pakistanis could not get a telephone without waiting for twenty years. They could not get electricity with power shut downs lasting thirteen hours. We wondered how the enterprising Pakistani people could set up their own trades and businesses, help create jobs and develop the economy without such essentials. So we decided to introduce the telecommunications revolution bringing in optic fiber, cellular telephones, fax machines, Internet, e-mail and satellite dishes. We see ourselves as a modernising force. And I am here to re-affirm to you the commitment of the Pakistan Peoples Party to the forces of liberalism, progress, modernism and freedom.

86. For the future, we need the support of our compatriots for a constitutional majority as the crisis Pakistan faces is less a crisis of governance and more a crisis of state. We need a constitutional majority to have a real first chance to reform the state apparatus, to depoliticise institutions, to devolve power to the provinces

and the local councils so that communities can govern themselves. We need effective government, not big government. We need reforms to end the electoral apartheid against the minorities. Reforms for an independent Election Commission and a non-partisan anti-corruption Ombudsman to check corruption. Reforms bringing the women into Parliament and introducing a partial list system so that the people of Pakistan are no longer hostage to the forces of patriarchy, feudalism, tribalism in a Parliament dominated by the Urban rich and the Rural rich. And we need a new foreign policy, a progressive foreign policy that enables Pakistan to become a proud partner in global values in an increasingly global world. Many of these reforms need a constitutional majority.

87. The Pakistan Peoples Party has a vision for Pakistanis as we prepare ourselves to enter a new century, A NEW millennium. A vision based on a South Asian Free Trade Zone providing South Asia with the economies of scale and providing the people of the region employment, opportunity and progress. Such an Asian free trade zone can mobilize the huge economic force and markets of South Asia to compete effectively in the emerging global marketplace; a marketplace based on regional alliances.

88. As we work for open trading borders in South Asia, open to trade, to commerce, to finance, to people to people contact, I hope we can build the climate to resolve the explosive tinderbox of Kashmir with the blessings of the All Parties Hurriyet Conference. And of course we need to build a South Asia that can limit the spread of nuclear weapons by creating a nuclear and missile free zone on the sub-continent.

89. These are the issues of the twenty-first century that must be confronted. These are the issues of a modern Pakistan. These are the issues of the third millennium that is but 216 days away.

90. And on that last night of the last century of the last millennium as we look out at the stars shining brightly above the world, I hope they remind us that some dreams cannot die, that life has a meaning when humans look beyond themselves into the eyes of the teeming masses and make a commitment. A commitment beyond the material to lead a meaningful life by standing up for an ideal, by striking out against injustice and by so doing sending" forth a tiny ripple of hope, and daring those ripples to build a current which can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance."

Thank you.

The Military Crisis in South Asia, Terrorism and the Political Situation

Address by: Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto

Dialogue Forum: PAKISTAN VOICE

February 5, 2000

Members of the Pakistani Community, Honoured Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I thank Mr. Shahzaib Hassan for providing the opportunity for me to meet with you this afternoon. I want to discuss with you the political situation in Pakistan, and Pakistan's position as we cross into a new political era.

For those of us who fought and died for democracy in Pakistan, the events since November 1996 have been painful beyond comprehension. A democratic country has once again fallen prey to military rule.

It was in November 1996, whilst the world concentrated on the American presidential elections, that democracy in Pakistan was derailed.

On that November night, the president ordered the tanks to move and surround the Prime Minister's house. I was arrested alongwith my ailing mother and my three small children, all under the age of eight.

Parliament was dissolved. Midnight raids took place. Supporters were arrested and taken away to torture cells. Trumped up charges of corruption were used to justify the president's one man decision to overthrow the popularly elected government. A government elected by the people was overthrown -despite enjoying the confidence of the people in the streets and the parliamentarians in the house.

The brutal demise of an elected government was followed by a partisan interim administration. The people of Pakistan boycotted the sham elections held in 1997. Only eight percent voted for my successor.

The dark road to military rule had begun. The presidential action of subverting democracy brought to power a government which lacked the support of the masses. Moreover, it reflected the views of the establishment rather than the provinces and people of Pakistan.

A controlled democracy was in place. Such a controlled democracy had been assiduously sought since General Zia lifted martial law and held non-party elections in 1985.

Yet, the creation of artificial leaders through manipulation of the electoral process puts them at odds with the genuine representatives of the people.

This cycle of clash has been a part of our history since the fifties when Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan was killed. The artificial leadership, lacking democratic legitimacy always falters, giving way to military rule.

The cost in social terms of this political manouvering has been extremely high. It has led to geographical disintegration, social chaos and fiscal collapse.

When the fiscal or geographical collapse reaches a point of no return, there is a strategic withdrawal by the establishment and elections are held. As soon as the economic corner is turned, or unity strengthened, the genuine leaders are once again set aside and an artificial leadership created.

The Bhutto and Benazir cases are two examples in recent history.

Sometimes the artificial leaders grow too big for their boots and they are thrown out too. The Junejo and Nawaz episodes are two recent examples. Both these leaders began to distance themselves from their political benefactors and found themselves out of power.

The right to govern ought to vest in the people of the country. Power can, and should shift to the people which, as the repositories of Allah's trust, are the rightful masters of the country.

The lesson of the twentieth century is that democracy works and the worst of democracies is better than the best of dictatorships.

In Pakistan we hear that controlled democracy is better because real democracy brings back discredited politicians.

I have little sympathy for this view. In democracies across the world, from the United States to Bangladesh and beyond, an election always brings back roughly the same number of elected representative. In the United States, senators Kennedy, Brownback and Feinstein keep getting elected. Yet, those who disagree with their policies do not say that a law should be made in the name of anti corruption which violates every principle of natural justice to eliminate the winnable candidates with a view to bringing forward nonentities who cannot other wise enter parliament.

This is not democracy. This is tyranny.

We as a nation need to respect the human rights of ordinary Pakistanis, the poor and the wretched. It is they, rather than the elites, who have a right to determine the destiny of the country.

If the people are allowed to run their own affairs, democracy will strengthen. Not overnight, but in due process. History cannot be rushed nor evolution expedited. Efforts to do so only delay the process further.

Democracy is more than elections. Democracy is, first, a system where the judiciary is independent and impartial. It cannot function when a handful of judges disrupt the political process to fulfill a political agenda.

It is hoped that the superior judiciary will rise to the challenge before it. Certainly the prayers of the nation are with them in enhancing the role of the justice system through the fair and impartial dispensation of justice.

Yet, in the last decade that role has not been played by a few in the judiciary. I will give only three examples. First the legal grounds for upholding dissolution were changed on political grounds to achieve political purposes four times since 1985. Second, a crisis was created by Chief Justice Sajjad in collusion with President Leghari to undermine the PPP Government. Third, the assault of the Supreme Court of Pakistan was condoned to achieve a political objective.

Too often, the judiciary, instead of the electorate, has been seen as the arbitrator of political disputes. This has the unfortunate result of politicizing them for which they alone cannot be blamed. It is time for us to accept the people as the arbitrator of political disputes even if we do not like their verdict.

Another challenge before the bar and the bench is to address issues of corruption when they arise with respect to some members within the judiciary. The judiciary is an independent organ of government and it is inappropriate for the executive to decide its propriety. However, there is a need for the bar and the bench to formulate a law which parliament can pass addressing issues of appointments and accountability. Such a law, emanating from the heart of the judiciary, can help us build a better Pakistan.

Second is the question of Accountability. First, this noble objective has too often been reduced to a farce in the country. Today a convicted criminal leads the prosecution for the military regime along with other aides convicted in the seventies for treason. Has any other country employed convicted criminals to prosecute elected leaders? I believe not. Can a process sullied by convicted criminals be credible? I believe not.

Second, the accountability law itself is a criminal law which seeks to rob the citizen of every fundamental right. The attempt to violate the basic principles of natural justice in the pursuit of politically motivated cases reeks of political persecution.

Third, the chief investigator has already prejudged politicians as corrupt. In the same breath, he confesses he has no evidence of wrongdoing. We must ask when, in a civilized society a person is innocent unless proved otherwise, we have allowed ourselves to degenerate to the savage state where elected leaders are prejudged and maligned.

The concept of justice is based on the due process of law. Unfortunately, in our country we have allowed intelligence leaks to the media about corruption to be treated as the gospel truth. When we have already tried and convicted innocent persons at the bar of public opinion, when we have demonized them immorally and unhumanly, how do we retreat when we discover that the stories were untrue?

We ought to withdraw in the face of absence of evidence. Instead we resort to obstructing the path of justice by torturing individuals to commit perjury or tampering with evidence. Accountability becomes a farce.

Which brings me to the fourth point: what then is the way forward? The way forward is to recognize that the parliament is an independent organ of government and parliamentarians ought to submit themselves before a parliamentary investigation when questions of impropriety are raised.

In this connection, the PPP had moved a bill in October 1996 asking parliament to make lawful a committee of parliamentarians to examine questions of wrongdoing. To keep the balance, the government and opposition were to have equal representation with each side being provided access to investigators and prosecutors of their choice to examine allegations about the other side. An adverse finding was to be sent to the courts for trial.

This idea may or may not be acceptable. The important aspect is that parliamentarians need to come up with an equitable consensus that prevents witch-hunts but allows for proper investigation of allegations of wrongdoing. The cardinal principles of natural justice and due process must be upheld to end corruption and prevent political abuse.

This brings me to the fifth point with regard to the present accountability law. It is selective and a selective law is a bad law. Parliamentarians and the military may like to keep their friends outside the scope of investigation. Unfortunately,

neither Islam, morality or law provides for this. We live in an age of transparency and that means all in executive positions must submit themselves for accountability.

Thus an accountability law for the executive needs to ensure that all officials, civil and military, are made accountable when allegations of wrongdoing are raised. It is not sufficient to blame civilian leaders for kickbacks in military purchases. Those who drew up the plans for such purchases have played the instrumental role and must bear responsibility.

I now come to a third aspect which needs national attention: this is an independent election commission.

In the past, our people believed that when elections are held they would have the right to elect a leadership of their choice.

Yet hope for tomorrow and confidence in the election process was killed with the brutal rigging in the elections of 1990 and 1997.

This has led to a cynicism in Pakistan which is dismaying. It has also created a dangerous vacuum. It threatens the collapse of the political order and the rise of regional ethnic and sectarian forces. It is a prescription for disaster.

It began with general Zia's keenness for desired results. This is a keenness which has only grown with time and must be reversed if our country is to gain stability and to prosper.

First, we need to investigate charges that intelligence operatives bankrolled campaigns of favourites in the elections.

Second, we need to ask why the electoral lists of 1995, stayed by the Supreme Court, have still not been decided;

Third, we need to ask for an investigation into reports that results taken to the election commission are hacked into and changed.

Fourth we need to insist on joint electorates, multi identification forms, computerized and printed electoral lists and polling stations and results announced by returning officers at the districts with out interference by a central control. Results in 1988 were announced within two hours. Results in 1997 took two days.

Fifth, we need to ask why cases before the courts of election rigging are not decided within six months as mandated by law. Those who should have decided these matters need to have a discussion about it with the bench and the bar.

This brings me to the fourth aspect of our national trials: the role of the intelligence agencies. There is a perception that the intelligence agencies have their own domestic and foreign policy agenda. How far these perceptions are true cannot be said. Yet there are repeated reports of the intelligence having destabilized government, interfered with state functioning, manipulated the electoral process and spread untrue stories of corruption.

These perceptions need to be addressed.

Sixth, the end of the cold war has changed the regional picture. During the cold war, the west gave military and financial assistance to Pakistan to face the threat of communism. We took the money and the weapons to fight India. This resulted in a policy of parity. We did what India did. A bomb for a bomb and a missile for a missile. A CTBT signature for a CTBT signature.

The last decade has shown that policy is no longer valid. The end of western financial and military aid has helped the Pakistani economy collapse. Today it is threatening the existence of the nation state itself. Nations rise and fall, not on outdated notions of military conquest, but on modern realities of economic viability.

Pakistan is too great a nation to collapse because its elites were blinded to new realities.

It is time for us to build internal cohesion through an appraisal of our domestic and regional situation.

In this connection, first, defence expenditure needs to be rationalized and submitted for parliamentary audit. If open audit is difficult, a closed audit by the parliamentary defence committee is necessary. Second, the centralized state needs to be stripped and power redistributed through provinces and local bodies. In this connection, the subjects of the concurrent list must be implemented as per the constitutional requirements. Moreover, a package and time frame prepared to accept the constitutional provision that GST is a provincial resource which is unfairly being taken by the center. There is much more which can be decided through a consensus between the political leaders of the four provinces, Azad Kashmir and northern areas. Third, local bodies can be made independent constitutionally so that a plurality of power is possible. Appointment of minorities and women to the judiciary is important as are the

issues of joint electorates and increasing the indirect participation of women in parliament through reserved seats.

These are all issues which need a constitutional majority and it is my earnest hope that when the time is ripe the people should give the PPP one real chance at social reform.

The seventh message I would like to give is the message of brother hood and harmony. Quaid-e-Awam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had predicted that his assassination would bring about a vertical and horizontal polarization. That has happened. To overcome it, we Pakistanis, irrespective of who is in power and irrespective of which province or ethnic group we come from, need to reach out to each other and reconcile. We do not need to agree on issues. After all politics by its very nature is diverse. But we need to show a unity of approach in formulating amongst ourselves laws which enhance justice and human dignity and policies which unite rather than divide.

Whether it is the military or the intelligence or the Muslim league or the Pakistan peoples party or one of the other parties, or the bureaucracy, the judiciary, we are all players in Pakistan. We need to leave the river of hate and climb upon the bank of confidence to appreciate that our hatred only breeds more hatred.

I come from a land of Sufis and believe that love begets more love. When I look back upon the economic achievements of the PPP government, I often think it was achieved because we had the love of the people and were remembered in prayers.

Pakistan was a land of plenty but four years ago. There was so much money that the jobs of our people were safe and the youth had opportunities of employment. The ILO in its report concluded that the largest job generation increase took place in the PPP government.

Literacy was increased by one third from 26 percent to thirty five percent. Health facilities were improved for which the world health organization gave the PPP a gold medal.

The military were given whatever was required for defence, whether it was planes, or tanks or submarines. Our soldiers and officers won honour for Pakistan in the battlefields of Bosnia and other trouble spots of the world battling for peace.

Per capita income increased. What was achieved in 12 years, PPPP achieved in three years. Per capita income rose by \$57 from \$431 to \$488. After the fall of the PPP government, per capita income fell by fifty dollars.

Growth rate tripled during the PPP government reaching more than six percent. Now it is halved.

The average rate of growth of investment reached its highest peak in 95-96 at about 16.42%. It fell to 4.5% in 98-99.

Foreign Investment poured into the country in billions and now it has dried up to a few millions. Our stock exchanges which once boomed with fifteen new issues annually are now silent. Our bazaars which hummed with activity are caught in a deep recession. Our peasants who saw the transfer of resources with good prices for their crops have seen poverty increase as their produce fails to get right prices.

Pakistan's foreign exchange reserve reached its highest peak in 1995. It increased to almost \$ 3 billion from a low of \$300 hundred million in 1993. If we take out rescheduled loan affects, currently it is minus \$1.4 billion

Pakistan's total reserve, consisting of gold, SDR and foreign exchange reached its highest peak ever in 95. It was \$3730 million which halved to \$1737 in 1998.

PPP government recovered Rs.18 billion bad debt in cash without arresting even one man. It restructured rs17 billion with solid guarantees demonstrating that extreme methods which destroy business confidence are unnecessary.

It is proposed that a new credit rating system be introduced and a foreclosure law be passed for the purpose of bad debt and good debt.

Whilst we take satisfaction in the economic performance of the past, we look to the future.

The future can improve by correcting the distortion of the national picture which took place on November 4, 1996. Derailed democracy needs to be back on tracks.

This has not been an easy time for the country but I want you to know that it has not been an easy time for me, my family or my party.

As a leader I may have committed mistakes but the politically motivated charges of corruption against my husband and myself are without substance.

My daughter was three when my husband was arrested and taken away. Two days back, she turned seven. In the last four years, I and many others, were stripped of our right to a good name, to a fair trial, to defence witnesses, to representation. Our basic rights were criminally snatched.

I derive great satisfaction from independent jurists, including two American former Chief Justices, who have opined that neither my husband nor I could have been convicted in an American Court.

Is it not sad that American jurists have to say this about a Pakistani Prime Minister?

Let me give you but a small glimpse into the living hell in which we and our supporters were thrown. I read to you from the financial times of November 12, 1999. It is the story of how a British citizen was kidnapped, tortured and threatened with death if he did not commit perjury against the parliamentary leader of opposition and her husband.

According to the financial times, Ashby's " life was repeatedly threatened. He was deprived of sleep, beaten and spat upon. On one occasion, a revolver was held to his head; on another he was subjected to a game of Russian roulette. During his detention, Mr Ashby said, he was taken on several occasions to see Senator Saifur Rehman. On one occasion, the senator threatened him and demanded a confession of corruption: "I want Benazir Bhutto. I want Asif Ali Zardari," he said.

Mr. Ashby had never met Ms Bhutto or her husband. On another occasion, when Mr. Ashby refused to co-operate, the senator entered the room screaming, eyes blazing "looking like the devil".

"He threatened to throw me in jail, torture me, beat me. He said it would cost only 30 rupees (about forty pence) to get me killed," he said.

This is just a glimpse of the wrong things which were done and have still not been corrected.

Is it not time that we stopped criminalising every Prime Minister that takes office?

I suffered immensely when Nawaz Sharif was Prime Minister. What he did to me was wrong and what is being done to him is wrong. Two wrongs do not make a right.

Neither the PML nor the Nawaz family has contacted me. However, I do feel the sufferings of the women folk of the Nawaz family.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I worry for the country.

We can hear the sound of the guns in the distance. Relations with India have plummeted. Guns are fired daily. Bomb blasts and incidences of sabotage have increased. There is a threat to Pakistan and we must awaken to it and save our country from calamity.

General Musharraff is uniquely placed to do that. He can abandon the path of division and choose the path of unification. He can take the lead in inviting all the political parties to discuss a timetable for the restoration of democracy and build a consensus.

If he has the vision to look beyond the political orphans who surround him, he can win the approval of the Pakistani people and the international community. The euphoria which greeted his regime can be revived if he is able to give confidence to the people of justice, fairness, freedom and the rule of law.

For every ruler, an exit strategy is the most important strategy. General Musharaf, forced to seize power in circumstances beyond his control, needs to have the courage to call all political leaders to arrive at an agreement to restore democracy.

In so doing, Pakistan can once again start its journey to recapture the lost dreams of its founding fathers.

Is Islam Compatible with the West?

Addressed to the Oxford Union

by Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto

February 20, 2000

Honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen.

I thank you for the invitation to return to the oxford union and for the warm welcome.

I am no stranger to this house. And it gives me great pleasure to be the guest of yet another woman president.

I spent some of the happiest years of my life as a student at oxford.

I was in England when Margaret Thatcher was the first woman to head a major political party, threatening to overthrow a male dominated preserve.

I was determined to do the same in Pakistan.

I was told that the oxford union was a mini house of commons. So I joined the oxford union.

I was told that politics, everywhere in the world, was summed up in two words: push and pull.

So I did and became president of the oxford union. And then I went on to become Prime Minister.

I see the deputy leader of the Conservative Party. Mr. Alan Duncan, in the audience. We were both at oxford at the same time. I am grateful to him, and other oxford friends, who together had my portrait painted for the union.

And I see Dr. Charis Waddy, a dear and wise friend and mentor. Her works on Islam and women in Islam remain as my prized possessions.

Madam President,

Every generation has its secret of success. When I was at oxford, our motto was, try and try again, unless it's a game of Russian roulette.

It seems just like yesterday when I was here and I am tempted to say: madam president, what are you doing in my chair?

You, madam president, have been unfairly criticized for inviting the famous designer, Stella Mac Carteny as a guest to the union.

I, madam president, was criticized for holding a debate on the topic that this house would rather rock than roll.

By drawing up a menu of serious and lighter debates, madam president, we have shown the common thinking, the compatibility between two women, of different races, of different cultures and of different continents.

Honorable members:

The last time I spoke at the oxford union, it was nearly twenty-five years ago.

I spoke from the cross benches in my farewell debate on the motion that “this house likes dominating women.”

Today I return to speak on a much more serious issue.

The motion before us, that this house believes that Islam is incompatible with the west, is an important one.

Six years ago, a Harvard professor began the debate in a city called Davos.

I was there when Samuel Huntington shocked the world with his thesis on the clash of civilizations.

I didn’t believe it then. And I don’t believe it today.

For fifty years, Islam and the west joined hands in their common struggle against communism. They were united in a common and compatible belief that state control was unacceptable; that the denial of individual liberty was unacceptable to the world community.

They were united in a common and compatible belief for a free world and for free markets.

My country, Pakistan, was in the forefront of this battle. When the soviets occupied Afghanistan, Pakistan became a front line state in the battle against communism. Our cities were bombed and our country flooded with refugees. But Muslim Pakistan never wavered in the fight for freedom.

Honorable members, I oppose this motion. And I oppose it for three reasons.

First, both worlds are built on religious faith and submission before god.

Both religions share common features binding followers together: the belief in the day of judgment, in Jesus Christ, in the angel Gabriel, in Moses, in fasting, in meditation, in praying with beads, the rosary or the Tasbeeh.

Both religions exhort followers to follow common commandments of good behaviour: to give charity, to stay clear from lying and cheating, to refrain from adultery, to show kindness to those who are disadvantaged.

The difference is that the Islam and west are at different historical stages.

Your battle between church and state has been resolved.

Our battle is still to be won.

And one billion Muslims are fighting that battle.

The second example I give of the compatibility of the west and Islam is the commitment to democratic values.

Yes. To democratic values.

I know my country Pakistan has fallen under the shadow of the military. I know that the military regime, like other dictators, is refusing to give a date for elections.

But that has nothing to do with Islam. It has everything to do with despotism.

Autocrats rule many parts of the Muslim world. But those autocrats reflect their own ambition and power. They do not represent, and cannot reflect, the sentiments of the people of the Muslim world.

Human dignity and respect is at the heart of Islam. If there are political prisoners in Pakistan and elsewhere, if there are witch-hunts against women and minorities, that is not Islam. It is discrimination.

The west cannot turn its back on the world of Islam. The west must support Islam in its battle for political emancipation just as Islam supported the west in its battle for a free world.

The oxford union is a prestigious debating club. Its name is known far and wide. Tonight the oxford union can send a bold message across, by rejecting this motion.

The third argument I place in proving compatibility between our two worlds, the world of the east and the west, is our common approach to social issues.

Issues of divorce, of child custody of inheritance are as important to family in the west as in the east.

In fact, Islam was the first religion to give the right of divorce to women and to ensure that daughters inherited alongwith the sons.

The west came later in giving property rights to women and in recognizing divorce.

Now we lag behind. Poor literacy rates breed ignorance and with ignorance comes fear and superstition. We need the support and understanding of the west in meeting these challenges.

In Pakistan and Afghanistan and other parts of the Muslim world, men still kill women in the name of male pride. Our women need the help and support of the west in securing their rights.

The Taliban in Afghanistan do a great disservice to women and Islam when they ban women from working.

Their ban has nothing to do with Islam. Their ban has much to do with ancient tribal customs and patriarchal values.

The women of Afghanistan, and women in other parts of the Muslim world expect moral support from the rest of the world community in their struggle to work and to free choice.

The Afghan clerics and clerics elsewhere tell us that women must be locked behind four walls.

But the prophet Mohammed, peace be upon him, set the example by marrying a working woman. His wife was a successful businesswoman.

Clerics tell us that a man can take four wives. They ignore the example of the prophet Mohammed who took but one wife until wife Khadija died.

They ignore the example set by Hazrat Ali, who whilst wife Fatima lived, never took a second wife.

The Taliban are wrong when they drape women from head to foot forcing them to wear the purdah.

Those who force women into purdah forget that the holy prophet said that the best is the veil in the eyes.

I, as a Muslim woman, dispute those that say women are inferior to men in Islam.

Like millions of other Muslim women, I place faith in the saying of the holy prophet that men and women are as equal as the teeth in a comb.

I ask this house not to listen to the clerics.

I ask this house to reject a shrill minority that would launch a new crusade.

Honorable members:

This house would shrink in horror if Milosevic was described as the face of the west.

Muslims shrink in equal horror when Osama bin laden is described as the face of Islam.

Muslims are affronted when they are rashly called terrorists.

There is no such thing as a Muslim terrorist or a Christian terrorist. A terrorist is a terrorist irrespective of race or religion.

Now there are peace talks breaking out in Northern Ireland.

But when I was studying here, all I heard was that the IRA were terrorists.

Causes of conflicts arise when people of the same faith fight. They arise when people of different faiths fight.

But we don't say that Catholics and Protestants are incompatible.

We don't say that Germany and France are incompatible or Germany and Britain because they once had a conflict and fought a war

When I was a student, I didn't hear Protestants call Catholics terrorists. And I don't like it when I hear Muslims called terrorists.

I am a Muslim who risked her life with Christians fighting terrorists. I did that because I saw no incompatibility between us in building a world free of violence.

I was Prime Minister when Ramzi Yusuf, the man who bombed the world trade center, was extradited from Pakistan.

Ramzi Yusuf, the man who bombed the world trade center, twice tried to assassinate me.

He didn't make a distinction in trying to kill someone from the Islamic world or the Christian world.

He would not need to do that if Islam and the west were incompatible.

Honorable members: throughout my life, I have subscribed to universal values of love and brother hood and harmony.

I have friends in the east and the west. I see myself as a bridge between two cultures and two worlds.

My world is a world united by common concerns. I see a world worried about gender issues, education, crime.

And when my friends and I meet over coffee, whether in the east or in the west, we talk about the same issues: our children, our expanding waistlines, our rising blood pressure and other such important issues.

Whether we like it or not, we are all cut from the same cloth.

Whenever we live, our concerns are the same.

Of course there are strident voices that we hear all too often in the media. But these are the voices of the extremists. These are not the voices of men and women of good will.

I see Muslims here in England sit in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons. Would that be possible if Islam and the west were incompatible?

I see Labour and Conservatives woo Muslim votes in Bradford, Birmingham, Manchester, Luton, Newham, Blackburn, London. Would that be possible if the two were incompatible?

I do not believe that we are incompatible. We are created by the one god. Our religions tell us that we are the common descendants of Adam and eve.

Our love of Jesus and his mother Mary are a shared love.

The prophet of the Muslims, Mohammed, peace be upon him, preached the message of tolerance.

Muslims are enjoined to greet each other with the words, peace be upon you.

The search for peace is a universal search. It is your search and my search. It is a sign of our compatibility.

Those who seek to construct walls of incompatibility do a great disservice.

They are prisoners of an ugly past.

This house is not.

This house can, and should, pull down the walls of bigotry, intolerance and prejudice.

And this house can do it tonight by rejecting the motion that Islam and the west are incompatible.

I urge you to do so.

Thank you.

Leadership and Courage
Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto's Speech delivered
at Agnes Scott Women's College Decatur, Georgia
March 14, 2000

Honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen.

I thank you for your kind invitation, and for your warm welcome to Agnes Scott College in Decatur.

I am no stranger to North America.

I spent four of the happiest years of my life as a student at an American college.

In all that has happened in my life since my graduation from Harvard 26 years ago, the carefree days on the college campus seem a distant dream.

I want to take this opportunity with you today to take stock -- of my own life, of the political situation in Pakistan, and of Pakistan's position as we cross into a new era.

For those of us who fought freedom in Pakistan, the events since November 1996 have been painful beyond comprehension.

The dismissal of the democratically elected government of 140 million Pakistanis by one man, the President, through edict began the country's slide into anarchy and chaos.

It took just three years since the government I led was arbitrarily dismissed for the men in uniform to take control.

Now, the long shadow of the military casts itself over South Asia.

Democracy is celebrated the world over as the most accountable, representative and legitimate form of political systems.

That political system in Pakistan was destroyed when a government enjoying the support of parliament and the people was thrown out by the President in a military backed action.

My successor, Nawaz Sharif, rode to power on the back of that military action. Whilst the West greeted him as a constitutional ruler with a powerful mandate, our people saw him as a conspirator who had seized power through ballot rigging.

A regime, born in the darkness of conspiracy, triumphing on stolen ballots lacked, from its inception, the security and legitimacy which springs from the will of the people freely expressed.

So preoccupied was it with the consolidation of power, with the seizure of the levers of the state apparatus that the more important issues were grossly neglected.

Governance gave way to vendetta. Settling personal scores in an unprecedented pattern of persecution, including the use of torture, became the order of the day.

Under the Nawaz regime, Pakistan's democratic institutions were systematically dismantled. Nawaz attempted to destroy the opposition and impose a one party dictatorship.

He toppled the president. He usurped the power of the courts. He imposed censorship and intimidation of the press. In the end, Nawaz fell on his own sword, in a final desperate attempt to take over the one institution that remained independent, the one institution that could defend itself.

Nawaz Sharif's attempt to topple the Army Chief of Staff was a monumental and arrogant miscalculation and manipulation of power.

It failed. But now we all pay the price.

The Army of Pakistan may have overthrown a civilian government, but it certainly did not overthrow a democratic government.

Democracy in Pakistan, under Nawaz Sharif, had died a thousand deaths before the Generals acted.

Unfortunately, since the October coup just five months ago Pakistan has made little progress towards democratization. The leader of the coup, General Musharraf, promised to lift Pakistan out of its dismal situation with a liberal reform agenda.

But the powerful and extremist coterie which surrounds him have prevailed.

There was a window of opportunity, a window of hope. But that window is closing quickly.

The new regime has been unable to grapple with issues relating to:

- the democratization process
- the recessionary economy
- peace on the borders

A powerful arm of the regime, the National Accountability Bureau, conveniently called 'NAB', headed by a general, is continuing with the politics of persecution.

It is the politics of persecution that is dividing the country, creating bitterness, undermining the rule of law and frightening away desperately needed capital for the sinking economy.

Governance is once again being neglected.

The military stepped in to restore order and democracy – but they have accomplished neither and instead, with their most recent actions, Pakistan's constitutional democracy has been weakened further.

Just two months back, the generals moved against the judges. Their assault on Pakistan's judiciary came with a new oath that the judges had to swear, replacing their obedience to the Constitution.

That oath resulted in the sacking of half the Judges on Pakistan's Supreme Court, including the Chief Justice.

The forced new oath has dealt a serious blow to the independence of Pakistan's judiciary, and has shaken the confidence of the people – a people who have all but lost faith in the credibility of their institutions.

The Rule of Law is at the heart of a democratic system. The judiciary plays a pivotal role in giving confidence to ordinary people that justice will be done, that laws will be obeyed, that fundamental human rights will be upheld, and that torture and obstruction of justice will not be permitted.

Sadly, in Pakistan, in the last three years or more, the judiciary has taken a battering.

First, the Nawaz regime manipulated it through favoured justices. Now the generals have undermined it with the new oath.

The proud people of Pakistan, denied a Constitution, denied a parliament, denied an independent judiciary, and in the grip of an economic malaise, are fast losing faith.

They are losing faith in democracy and in politics, although neither are to blame.

A dangerous anarchy and cynicism is taking hold. Such anarchy and such cynicism bode ill for Pakistan and for South Asia.

Clerics wait in the wings in the hope that a political vacuum can help them stage a clerical takeover.

Pakistan is no ordinary country. Geography places it next to radical Afghanistan and revolutionary Iran. The world's most wanted man, Osama bin Laden, lives in its shadow in the mountains of Afghanistan.

The ugly politics of violence and guns rips the country apart even as it vacillates on critical issues pertaining to nuclear proliferation.

Last year, Pakistan nearly went to war with neighboring India in the icy mountainous area called Kargil.

Tensions are still running high, presenting the international community with its nightmare possibility, a potential nuclear war in a critical area of the world where one in five people of the earth's inhabitants live.

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is with great anticipation that I await the visit of President Clinton to South Asia.

I welcome his decision to include Pakistan in his trip.

Many voices were raised against the American President's visit to Pakistan.

Last month, when I met him at a formal reception, I emphasized why as a democrat, as the leader of a party that opposes military dictatorships, I felt it important that he visit my country -- a country I cannot visit for fear that I would not be allowed out again.

Pakistan played a critical role in standing shoulder to shoulder with the free world in its fight against communism. It was important that President Clinton acknowledge the role and sacrifices of the Pakistani people in ending the Cold War and ushering in a new era of free markets and open opportunities.

The Clinton visit comes at a critical time when the Indo-Pak borders echo with the sound of gunfire. It is hoped that the visit to Pakistan will maintain the political balance in the region. Such balance is necessary to avert war and promote peace.

President Clinton's visit also provides a rare opportunity to persuade Pakistan's military regime to move towards the path of political reconciliation in keeping with the Islamic traditions of compassion, tolerance, and progress.

Moreover, the American President can directly, and more meaningfully, convey to the Pakistani leadership the importance of restoring democracy and the Rule of Law in Pakistan.

President Clinton, having averted a potentially nuclear conflict last May, knows first hand the importance of the unresolved dispute of Jammu and Kashmir and the prospects of stability in a region rich with market opportunity.

By visiting Pakistan and India, President Clinton can use quiet diplomacy effectively to get peace moving in the region.

His visit offers hope to tens of thousands of Kashmiris living in the shadows of Indian control.

The Pakistan People's Party and I have urged President Clinton to consider four key issues in his South Asia agenda:

First, the unresolved Kashmir dispute which threatens hinder stability in the region.

Second, the issue of poverty alleviation and the role the international community can play through a South Asia Marshall Plan.

Thirdly, the issues of proliferation which have moved starkly up the international agenda with the eleven nuclear detonations by India and Pakistan which took place in South Asia in 1998.

And fourthly, to encourage restoration of democracy in Pakistan by pushing for an announcement of a timetable for free and fair elections, release of political prisoners, and a much needed political consensus on important national issues.

Ladies and gentlemen,

For the people of Pakistan, for my party the PPP, my family and I, the last three years have been a nightmare.

Thousands of our supporters, including women and children, were arrested and taken to jail. The regime publicly boasted of torturing witnesses as the judiciary silently watched.

Even foreign citizens were kidnapped and threatened with death to trump up politically motivated allegations.

Scores were forced to flee the country rather than debase justice with perjured statements extracted under coercion. Their family life was disrupted, their careers destroyed.

Time stood still for Pakistan as the rest of the world moved on.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I know it has become the fashion both in the developed and developing world over the last decade, to destroy leaders' reputations by innuendo, allegation and rumour.

Now it is only necessary to call an investigation, and set forth a vicious media campaign, even if partisan and politically motivated, for a person to fall under the cloud of suspicion.

Not just in Pakistan, but even in the most developed democracies.

Nawaz Sharif attempted to use the courts to destroy the Pakistan peoples party and to destroy me personally.

My Party, family and I are innocent victims of a vast conspiracy to obstruct justice, eliminate our leadership, and to subvert Pakistan's movement towards a liberal, moderate and modern nation state committed to global values.

The abuse of justice that took place, through collusion with a hand full of controversial judges, has been verified by independent foreign judges. These include: the Right Honourable Sir John Morris, the former Attorney General of the United Kingdom, David Harwell, the retired Chief Justice of the South Carolina Supreme Court, and Burley Mitchell, the immediate Past Chief Justice of the State of North Carolina.

Once it was innocent until proven guilty, now it is guilty unless proven innocent.

This travesty of justice which took place has taken a deep toll on me, both politically and personally. Yet it's take on the country has been far worse.

Some call this new political art the "politics of personal destruction."

The politics of personal destruction has undermined civil institutions in Pakistan, the Muslim world's second largest country.

Governments rise and fall not on performance but on personality, not by accountability but allegation, not on facts but on slurs.

The search for political consensus, the main characteristic of a democratic society, has degenerated into partisan hysteria, a rule or ruin philosophy.

There are academies that wonder whether Pakistan is a failed state. That is cause for great concern.

It is important that the international community not turn its back on a country rich in weapons of mass destruction.

It is important that the international community support Pakistan -- the people of Pakistan in their quest for representative government. A government that can tackle the problems of terrorism and conflict that threaten to overtake a once great nation.

It is in times of crisis that leadership is tested. And one fact is clear -- Pakistan is in turmoil and with its stability in South Asia is at stake.

This is a time to demonstrate leadership in a country where tensions run high and where people go hungry. A country where powerful drug lords undermine civil rule when faced with extradition. A country where men still kill women in the name of male pride.

It is these contradictions, so severe, which threaten to suffocate the State itself.

In the 21st Century, the people of Pakistan, once again robbed of the right to freedom, need answers that can come if they are allowed to determine their own destiny.

Dictatorships cannot give those answers. Dictatorship does not work -- that was the decisive lesson of the twentieth century.

Dictatorships cannot solve the important social issues which are crying out for attention.

Issues of poverty, gender equality and minority rights have fallen by the wayside in the last three years since democracy was derailed in my country on that night of November 6th, 1996.

Issues of job security, of the dignity that comes with empowerment and of fair prices for crops and goods produced are being neglected, even as I speak to you, as one dictatorship replaces another in Pakistan.

Dictatorship is draining the vitality of my country and destroying the dreams of its youth.

The democratic government I led did its best for Pakistan. But we disappointed our people in failing to come up with an independent investigative mechanism to tackle the perception of widespread corruption. Successive governments have made the same error.

The danger today is that Pakistan may end up paying the price. The must not be allowed to happen.

And that is why leadership is so very important to the direction that Pakistan and South Asia take in this "the new global age."

Ladies and gentlemen,

The United States is displaying leadership when it promotes the right to civil government and the dignity of men and women in South Asia.

The U.S. is playing a leadership role when it sends a delegation of US Members of Congress, and Secretary of State Karl Inderfurth to Pakistan, urging the restoration of civil rule and calling for the military to set a date for elections.

It plays a leadership role in deploring the recent 'Order' that sitting judges sign loyalty to the military rulers.

This voice and these visits show how leadership has changed in the 20th Century.

Leadership is no longer confined to national boundaries or to state governments. Leadership has taken on a global dimension.

Once leadership was confined in the narrow hands of an emperor or a conqueror. It moved on into the hands of the privileged political elite.

But now leadership is passed into the hands of ordinary citizens.

The opinions of hundreds and thousands and millions of citizens sent from across continents of what is right and wrong -- traveling like tiny ripples growing as they reach their destination -- with an amazing strength.

And with each ripple comes a wave of hope for the people who suffer.

The sense of justice, the sense of outrage, that a citizen feels and expresses to its own government can have a tremendous impact and can effect -- whether it be women's rights, the environment, or the dismantling of democracy in a far away land like Pakistan.

This is the most dramatic transformation in leadership in Pakistan that I have experienced in the last two decades.

The canvas for political leadership has expanded.

We are increasingly moving towards a global community, sharing global values, reaching out to each other to share burdens and find solutions.

As I struggle for my people, as I dream dreams for them, I derive moral courage from global reinforcement.

The last time democracy died in my country, I stayed behind. As a prisoner I was a powerful symbol for my people. My imprisonment gave our movement for democracy strength.

That was in the last century. Now, I find that I can do more to lead my people, and keep alive their hopes, by moving from city to city, country to country fighting for our cause.

I address the Pakistani community, I address non-Pakistanis knowing that these events help shape public opinion.

That public opinion is critical to the direction that my country will take as we head towards the 21st century.

It is not easy. But leadership is never meant to be easy.

It is born of a passion, and it is a commitment. A commitment to an idea, to a people, to a land.

I travel, never knowing when I will be able to see my husband. He has been in prison for over 3 years, a hostage of my political career.

I travel and miss my children. They are all under eleven. It is difficult explaining to little children why their mother can't be with them.

But leadership involves making family sacrifices.

Leadership means rising above ones own wants, needs and emotions.

Leadership is tough.

It consumes ones who personality -- from morning to night. I am on call for my Party's political campaign 24 hours a day -- 365 days a year. There is no question of being tired -- and there are no holidays.

Tiredness is a luxury I cannot afford.

Leadership is a life of tension and anxiety, in the office and out of the office. Of being on call for every crisis or political emergency that a new day can bring.

And leadership is about appearances. About being calm and forcing yourself to think clearly whenever your stomach is churning.

I am asked often why I continue on a road filled with pitfalls.

I do it because I believe my leadership has changed much, and can change more, for my country and in particular, for women still denied the right of choice.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I had never wished to enter public life.

It was nothing that I sought.

I had hoped, at Harvard and later at Oxford, that I could pursue a career in journalism or in the Foreign Service.

Forces beyond my control shaped the direction of my future.

Personal choice and personal happiness was replaced by social responsibility and political obligation.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I grew up as a daughter of the East who was educated and spent significant parts of her life in the West.

And so, in a sense, I see myself as a bridge of two cultures, two worlds, and two pasts.

As a child I attended a private school in Karachi, run by Catholic nuns, sheltered from much of the turmoil of early Pakistan, a shy and insulated girl.

When I was but sixteen years old, my father determined I should not be denied the Islamic right of knowledge, and thus he sent me abroad for higher education, and I was admitted into America's premier university, Harvard College.

All my life, and even spiritually to this day, it was my father who guided me, who mentored me, who encouraged me, who gave me the strength and confidence to express my views.

His soul and his values are alive within me, wherever I go.

It is interesting that the person who insured that I would break lose of the constraints of my culture and gender, was not a woman, but a man.

A very great and wise man, my father Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto -- the greatest inspiration in my life.

My travel abroad when I was 16 was a true awakening.

I walked into a very new world.

I was alone for the first time in my life.

The pampered child was suddenly cooking, cleaning, washing and ironing -- independent and self-sufficient.

I was exposed to the most brilliant and respected professors, to the most compelling ideas, to a demanding curriculum, to the most accomplished students in all of North America.

I was for the first time in my life living together with strangers, in a dormitory of peers, where I had to take care of myself but also participate in an intellectual village.

It was the first time in my life that I was in an environment where women were treated as full participants in society in every way.

I was also thrust into a political environment that was unlike anything I had ever known.

I came to Harvard in 1969, at the heart of the Vietnam War, with our campus, and all of America, in political and social turmoil.

In time, I, like many of my classmates, took to the streets, took to the barricades, demanding an end to an unjust war.

And while I was in America for those four years, I participated and observed in a miracle of democracy -- I saw the power of the people changing policies, changing leaders, and changing history.

It was that early experience, possibly more than anything else, that shaped my political being that unalterably shaped my faith in democracy.

From Harvard I went to Oxford, where I became the first foreign woman to be elected as President of the Oxford Union. It was my first election, my first victory.

I had been told that as a foreigner, I could not win and should not run.

I had been told that as a woman, I could not win, and should not run.

But I did run and I did win. And I learned a valuable lesson.

Never acquiesce to obstacles, especially those that are constructed of bigotry, intolerance and blind, inflexible tradition.

I also learned another critical lesson in life -- to follow my own political instincts.

I returned to Pakistan in 1977, hoping to pursue a career in the Foreign Service.

But circumstances soon unfolded that would dictate the path of the rest of my life and change the direction of the future of my country.

Within one week of my return from Oxford, a military coup toppled the elected democratic government of my father.

Our house was surrounded by tanks. We did not know if we would live or die, if we would survive to see the dawn of the next day's sun.

A brutal, dictator had overturned a free and fair election, imposed martial law, and suspended all constitutional rights within my country.

My father was arrested, released, re-arrested and finally hanged.

My party was targeted. Our leaders were murdered, tortured, imprisoned.

The lucky ones went into exile.

With the leaders behind bars, members of the PPP turned towards me to lead them in rallies, and to tour the country and seek a restoration of democracy.

I did not seek leadership, it was thrust upon me. Tragedy, political circumstances, and the forces of history rallied a nation around me.

I was fortunate in my campaign to lead my nation. As my father's daughter, my name was recognized throughout the country.

I was fortunate in that my father's supporters, who believed in his vision of a modern Islamic democracy, rallied around me to continue the struggle.

I was fortunate in that the PPP was a federal party with its roots in the four corners of the country, providing me a national platform.

It was a national platform from which I launched the struggle for democracy in 1977 and with it my own political career.

I realized then the importance of a good education that my father had placed such emphasis on.

It was that education which gave me the discipline to accept schedules. It gave me the ability to manage conflicting demands and it gave me the opportunity to strengthen our political base.

Certainly my education in some of the best liberal colleges helped me in preparing to play the leader's role.

But it was the real, practical education that I received from my father, which prepared me most. He taught me that in politics, pride comes before a fall, that leadership springs from humility and sensitivity to the dreams and hopes of the weak and powerless.

It was my father who initiated me in debates and who, through his faith in me, gave a shy girl the confidence to meet overpowering challenges.

Yet, in a sense, I had no control over the events which would quickly change my fate. My course was no longer mine.

I was catapulted into politics by the force of circumstance.

When my father was executed two years later, I was called upon by a people in despair to take charge and pursue his mission for freedom and constitutional rule.

I am proud of the Pakistan Peoples Party, which provided me, a woman, the opportunity to lead the nation in a country with deeply rooted tribal values and a hierarchical order based on social division.

This was not an easy task at a time when the military dictatorship insisted that a woman's place was behind the house and behind the veil -- not in the work place.

Many believe that South Asian women leaders have inherited leadership through assassination of loved ones in the family.

To do so is to forget that each of us had to win our badges of honours by paying a political price.

I paid that political price, spending nearly six years in one form of imprisonment or another, mostly in solitary confinement, in an all pervasive climate of fear and dread.

I pay that price today with my husband incarcerated as part of the psychological warfare waged to break my spirit.

Then senior members of the party could not reconcile themselves to being led by a woman and that too a young one.

My leadership was opposed by senior leaders who accepted me a rubber stamp for their decisions and turned against me when they found I had a mind of my own.

In many ways it was a lonely struggle. A life of youth and vibrancy was curtailed by prison walls and social taboos.

Yet, the very weakness was a strength. Societies that discriminate against women can also venerate them.

Women, as mothers and sisters, are placed on a pedestal to protect and honour in way unfair in the West.

As the daughter of the martyred, I had a special position in the heart and minds of the people I led. I was their leader, but also their sister -- one of the larger

family that sticks together no matter how strong the political strain, no matter how grave the adversity.

By its nature the politics born of struggle against dictatorship is the political ostracization that must be endured.

Bureaucrats, judges, military officers, bankers, businessmen were all scared to incur the military rulers wrath by interacting with me -- they rewarded cut off from our movement

The gulf proved costly when democracy was restored. The people supported us. The elite's feared us.

I naively believed that our opponents would accept the will of the people. They did not.

The PPP and I were outsiders, we were strangers to them and we threatened them with our program of social emancipation.

I threatened them by what I was -- a woman and a young one too.

I was only 35 years old when I was first elected Prime Minister Pakistan in 1988. The world celebrated the victory of a woman leader in a traditional Muslim society. My own supporters across the country were jubilant, dancing in the streets to celebrate the triumph of democracy against dictatorship, liberalism against fanaticism.

But not my opponents. In Pakistan, and throughout the Muslim world there was opposition to my victory.

My election shook the foundation of a conservative Muslim world which had just backed a holy war in Afghanistan -- and the men in uniform who had fought that holy war.

A senior religious scholar from a leading Muslim country issued an edict criticizing my election and declaring that it was un-Islamic for a woman to govern a Muslim country.

I was helped when another religious scholar from another Muslim country issued an edict declaring it was Islamic for a Muslim country to elect a woman leader.

Politics and religion mixed with greater intensity as the full force of the religious card was used against the new government.

The aim was to create a religious frenzy. The goal was to overthrow the government and demonstrate that a woman could not govern. It was also to show that a victory by a woman in such an election was an aberration.

Several assassination attempts were made against me including one within the first month of my term at the Lahore Airport.

A campaign was waged within the Organization of Muslim countries to expel Pakistan on the grounds that it had violated Islamic tradition by electing a woman leader and could only return if the election verdict was overturned.

Every Friday, from the mosques, sermons were given inciting the people to overthrow the government.

However, having a popular base meant having the popular support. It was that popular support that gave our government legitimacy and gave us the strength to implement our reformist agenda.

We proved in Pakistan that the barriers of tradition could be broken.

We proved in Pakistan that opportunists and fanatics would not dictate our agenda.

It was a victory for women every where. Especially Muslim women.

Although my opponents fulminated, calling me an Indian agent and an Israeli agent, the people supported me.

And I was determined to prove my leadership through concrete actions.

The Government I led had an ambitious program of political liberalization, ending censorship, legalizing trade unions, and placing a special emphasis on health, education, and macroeconomic reform.

But, despite the peoples support, after just 20 months, the entrenched Establishment that had refused to bow to the people's will, backed the President in sacking my government through edict, at a time when world opinion was distracted by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990.

The result of overthrowing a popular government and replacing it with a puppet led to anarchy and chaos gripped the Nation.

Pakistan was on the threshold of being declared a terrorist state. Our economy was on the verge of collapse.

My party did not lose its faith in me nor did I lose my faith in politics or the people of my country.

Within three years I was re-elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan.

In reflection, I realize that being a leader in a large developing country that had been stifled by the forces of dictatorship was difficult in itself.

But being a woman made the task even more formidable. I faced greater challenges than I could have ever imagined.

It is not easy being a woman anywhere.

In many ways there are still hurdles for women to jump in the U.S.

It is not easy being a successful woman in politics, education, health or finance.

Moreover, for women leaders, the obstacles are greater, the demands are greater, the barriers are greater, and the double standards are greater.

And ultimately, the expectations of those who look at us as role models are greater as well. For all women, it is critical that we succeed. Unfortunately, there are still many out there who would just as soon have us fail, to reinforce their myopic stereotypes restricting the role of women.

I recall with great empathy the words of Baroness Margaret Thatcher, who once said:

“If a woman is tough, she is pushy.
If a man is tough, gosh, he’s a great leader.”

How often, in Pakistan, the United States, all over the world, we have heard characterizations of women in politics as pushy, as aggressive, as cunning, as shrewd, as strident.

These words, if applied to men in politics, would be badges of honour!

Those of us who have chosen to serve in business, government and other professional careers have broken new ground.

We have broken the stereotypes, and we have been prepared to go the extra mile, to be judged by unrealistic standards, to be held more accountable.

Therefore, women leaders have to outperform, outdistance and out-manage men at every level.

We should not shrink from this responsibility, we should welcome it.

Welcome it on behalf of women all over the world, in cities, in rural villages and in the great universities and centers of learning, arts and culture.

For all who have suffered before, and for all who come after us, we are privileged to be in this special position, in this special time, with unique opportunities to change our countries, our continents, to change the world...and inevitably change the future.

Different are the opportunities, the challenges and the styles in leadership for women vs. men.

I have not found that there are any male leaders who will agree there are differences in styles between male and female leaders.

But we female leaders, and I speak from my conversations with other women leaders, believe that female leaders are stronger and more determined.

I personally believe that women leaders are more generous and forgiving. Male leaders tend to be more inflexible, and rigid.

However, ironically, I have met many male leaders who feel that women leaders are actually more rigid.

Male leaders can learn from female counterparts how to keep people together.

Women leaders have a tradition and an historical legacy of bringing up families and creating a sense of family community and unity. This is what men leaders need to learn from women leaders.

I asked a male leader what we female leaders could learn from them and he replied in a simple word "intrigues".

Just as men and women can learn from one another, so can leaders from different cultures, regions and religions.

In leading people from different cultures, a leader has to have a sensitivity towards the values of different cultural groups to strengthen the common points and bind the different cultures together.

In the West, people often take free choice, free speech, and human rights for granted, as a matter of right.

In the East, the leaders have not only had to battle the different political parties, but also resist the entrenched establishment.

Ladies and gentlemen,

The West needs to appreciate that the East, and I speak of the Muslim Nations in the East, are part of the same Judaic, Christian Civilization.

Ours is a religion that sanctifies Abraham, Moses and Jesus as Prophets.

It pains me when I see Muslims stereotyped as extremists and terrorists. It would shock the West if the Serbian criminal Milosevic was called the face of the West.

It is equally shocking for us when Osama bin Laden is called the face of the East.

In every culture, in every continent, in every civilization, there are men and women of goodwill. And there are those who preach hatred and seek to create bitterness. And, yes, there are extremists too.

I recall the UN conference in Cairo on population planning. There I saw the Christian and Islamic extremists unite in seeking to deny women control of their own bodies.

Extremists, operating even now along the border of Canada, murder doctors for providing women with choice over their own reproductive life.

Extremists, in your country and mine, indulge in acts of senseless violence.

Unfortunately, acts of senselessness make the news while acts of goodness are too often taken for granted.

We need to remember that the Information Age broadcasts the extreme rather than the mainstream -- where worldwide news is flashes into our dining rooms every night.

I want you to know that the mainstream in the East is very much the mainstream in the West.

It is grounded in faith, in family, in our dreams for the future.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Leadership for me, throughout my career, was an attempt to combine the best of the many cultures which I had experienced.

To build for my people the ability to compete and thrive in the challenging new technological era.

Introducing the world of modern communication into Pakistan was one of the goals of my party.

We heralded the information revolution by introducing fax machines, digital pagers, optic fiber, cellular telephones, satellite dishes, Internet, the e-mail and even CNN into Pakistan.

I was proud of Pakistan when under my leadership; Pakistan integrated into the global economy and became one of the ten emerging capital markets of the world.

I was in England when Margaret Thatcher introduced the economics of privatization. I was also in America to see the economics of deregulation.

And I took these lessons from the West to the East.

My government provided a big-push to infrastructure development, particularly in the energy sector.

The World Bank called our energy program a model to the entire developing world.

And due to the investment-oriented policies of the PPP government, we attracted twenty times more direct foreign investment in Pakistan than under previous government administrations-- the majority of it from the U.S.

But it is in the social sector that our accomplishments have the most special meaning to me. Possibly as a woman and as a mother I found the human cost of social neglect shocking.

Increasing literacy rates by one third was one of our goals. Building schools for girls was another. And recruiting women teachers for the new primary schools was a new challenge where we succeeded.

Securing women's rights by signing the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women in Beijing promoted women's rights.

Prosecuting perpetrators of domestic violence helped make Pakistan a more just society.

Leadership meant introducing the world of computer literacy to prepare our people for a new century, a New World.

As a woman and mother, I was particularly concerned about the conditions of health for the children of Pakistan.

Approximately 50 million child deaths are predicted in South Asia over the next decade.

Of that astounding number, 30 million are avoidable if the countries of the region embark on serious health education and health delivery programs.

In order to promote mother and child health care, we recruited and trained 50,000 village health workers in the far-flung villages of Pakistan.

With the help of this army of women, we iodized salt, eliminated polio and reduced the population growth rate from 3.1% to 2.6%.

We embarked an ambitious effort to immunize the children of Pakistan from a host of preventable child hood diseases that could be brought under control.

The WHO gave me a gold medal in recognition of Pakistan's effort in the field of health.

To protect women in society, we established special women's police forces and women's courts, to hear with understanding and sympathy cases of domestic violence and domestic abuse.

Courts and police forces for women, staffed by women.

And we created women's banks for women entrepreneurs, empowering them with the tools to start their own businesses. And yes, we allowed men to deposit their funds in the women's banks –and they did.

It was a miraculous transformation of a society, a transformation that cannot be negated by disinformation and personal attacks on me.

What we accomplished -- concretely and specifically -- is my legacy to the people of Pakistan.

We opened up education, and we opened up markets.

We opened up opportunity and we opened up foreign investment.

We opened up economic development and emancipated our rural villages.

Above all, we opened up minds. We opened up individual choice.

We attacked prejudice and discrimination.

Ladies and gentlemen, leadership and courage are often synonymous.

Ultimately, leadership depends on action, daring to take actions that are necessary but not always popular.

To do what is right, by educating and moving an electorate, understanding the moods, the needs, the wants, the hopes and the aspirations of a surging mass of humanity.

Leadership is an opportunity to paint a new vision on the canvas of political life in a nation's history.

Ladies and gentlemen,

We have just witnessed only for the third time in recorded history the momentous turning of the millennium.

At that extraordinary moment, when the huge ball dropped and the year 2000 lit up the winter sky, we carried the lessons of the past that have enabled us to radically transform the future.

Our generation, the first in recorded history, is fundamentally empowered with the control of its own destiny.

The chains of the past -- colonialism, ignorance, dictatorship and sexism -- are broken.

I remember the words of my father to me written from the death cell. He wrote to me:

“Every generation has a central concern, whether to end war, erase racial injustice, or improve the conditions of working people.

The possibilities are too great, the stakes too high, to bequeath to the coming generation only the prophetic lament of Tennyson:

‘Ah, what shall I be at fifty should nature let me live...If I find the world so bitter at twenty-five.’

Ladies and gentlemen,

Leadership is about beating bitterness, beating adversity -- it is about having the will to overcome insurmountable obstacles in fulfilling a cause larger than oneself.

For the good of democracy in Pakistan, for the goal of gender politics and for the goal of equal opportunities, in my homeland, I am determined to speak out and in so doing play my part in building a better world.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

**Conference of Asian Political Parties Manila
September 17, 2000**

Distinguished delegates:

I am privileged to visit Manila and address this distinguished audience at the historic first conference of Asian political leaders.

A tribute to the organizers, in particular former speaker Jose de Venecia, for inviting us to discuss the challenges of the twenty first century.

The leaders of leading Asian political parties, irrespective of political affiliations, meet this morning as Asians committed to the welfare of this great continent.

We reach out to create a culture of cooperation even as enormous changes sweep over our planet.

Many of us gave years of our lives battling dictatorship. I congratulate the Asian countries that have won that battle of freedom.

But freedom is still under assault in parts of Asia, including Burma and my own country Pakistan.

Winning freedom is the start of another journey—the journey for our people to lead a life, free from want and hunger, from slums and squalor.
The promise of our tomorrows awaits fulfillment.

Globalization has placed us in a new political storm. Today Asia declares it's readiness in facing the brave new world dominated by regional trading blocs.

Whilst the goal of an Asian parliament, an Asian trading currency and an Asian monetary fund appear a distant dream, this morning's first step indicates our will to adjust to globalization forces dictating the pace of change.

Asia's middle classes are groaning under the world of deregulation and free currency flows that move with ruthless speed bringing both fortune and failure in its wake.

With our response, we can meet the threat of a new superclass of marginalised underprivileged, unable to compete with modern ideas, technology and markets.

We can do this by identifying common institutions, laws and procedures enabling our nations to move forward in an Asian rhythm, benefiting from the New World Order.

Market forces demand a computer literate work force. Surely we have the will to prioritise our budgets to equip our people with new skills.

Investment runs from, and ruins economies based on the old paradigm---a paradigm built on geostrategic concerns held up by missiles and military might.

Today's might is the might of markets. Influence flows from call of commerce and of capital markets.

We can see, from Philippine to Pakistan, that economies suffer, miseries increase and helplessness sets in where markets are threatened by bombs, wars, insurgencies, terrorism, corrupt practices and narcotics trade.

Lets share building a new paradigm for Asia, beyond terror to safety. Let us light the path for Asians to compete successfully in creating wealth and prosperity.

Agricultural dominates many Asian societies. We can create a class of agricultural entrepreneurs by investing in the rural community even as our urban force benefits from the services sector, commerce and labourt export.

There's a hungry world out there, looking for software engineers and biogenetic scientists. Their training and export can lead to capital transfers and huge opportunities.

We need to move fast—for opportunity doesn't knock twice.

But progress needs political parties that can promise political stability. Lack of proper funding undermines the ability of parties to combat the interests of an entrenched establishment.

State funding can assist parties in establishing secretariats, facilitating policy research, establishing media offices and contesting general elections.

Bribes offered to parliamentarians to switch sides is another problem. I faced it when my opponents moved a no confidence move funded by Muslim militants opposed to a woman in politics.

Open balloting makes cheating more difficult. And those who switch sides can be forced to resign. The president my party elected switched sides plunging Pakistan into a downward spiral on the rocky road of nuclear explosions, economic implosion and, finally, martial law.

Fanatics challenge stability too. They do it under the cloak of religion. In promoting interfaith dialogue, the chances of a clash of civilizations can be averted.

Ladies and gentlemen:

I come from a country rich in weapons of mass destruction—a country that nearly went to a nuclear war over the frozen wastelands of an area called Kargil. A country where bomb blasts ruin lives and desperate young men, commit suicide because they cannot afford to live.

It is unethical, when a regime is deaf, dumb and blind to the agonies of its own people. All of us, as Asians, can raise our voice when rules we set, in the ink of humanity, are violated.

We have done this in the United Nations. We can do it as an Asian association in this, the third millenium.

Picture the Asian woman, shorn of her most basic rights. Picture the Asian child, robbed of the innocence of childhood. Our women and children deserve better.

The irrevocable market forces can be compensated for by human conscience.

Together we can raise our voices for compassion – a great human quality.

Asia can argue for debt relief.

I argue for debt relief tied to good governance. And for amounts saved to go into a special anti poverty program.

Away from the bright lights and the consumer world of Malls, Macdonald and Mercedes, we, that God blessed as the privileged, need to measure up by reaching out to that dark underworld where poverty, hunger and squalor stalk the lives of millions, nay billions, of Asians.

Distinguished delegates:

I come from a land of mystic saints who preached the message of love. I bring here that message of love and peace---for hatred is only born of fear.

A new future awaits us.

A future where computers have replaced combustion as the catalyst for change.

Where information has replaced ideology as the idiom of action.

It's time for the sleeping Asian giant to awaken.

Thank you, speaker de venecia and organizers of the conference, for setting the alarm clock by inviting us here to face up to the reality that:

“If you always do what you always did, you’ll always get what you always got.”

Thank you, distinguished delegates.

**Guaranteeing the Rule of Law and Independence of the Judiciary in Pakistan
at the Commonwealth Ethnic Bar Association
October 30, 2000**

Distinguished Guests:

I am honored to address this gathering of the Commonwealth Ethnic Bar Association.

I accepted the brief to carry coal to New Castle in addressing issues of legal interests. I understand from Jeremy Bentham that, in certain cases, ignorance of law is not punished.

I promise to speak the truth the whole truth and nothing but the truth. I learnt from Lord Darling that:

Law 'is a very strange one; it cannot compel anyone to tell the truth...But what the Law can do is to give you seven years for not telling the truth'.

Friends,

It is with a sense of nostalgia that I come to England's London, a country where I studied. I come to these Inns of Court where my Father, and my country's Father, walked and worked, spoke and studies, laughed and worried.

I speak here at a difficult time for my country, a country that has drifted rudderless in a sea of conflict and violence since democracy was decapitated four years back in November 1996.

The dismissal by decree of a democratic government enjoying the support of parliament and the people set the stage for the decline of the rule of law.

The flouting of, the Constitution, which provides for fair elections by installing a partisan interim administration, the manipulation of the vote and a fraudulent mandate set the stage for the rise of an insecure leader. A leader with paranoia as overwhelming as the mandate his party was given by the Generals.

The criminalisation of the Parliamentary opposition, the mob attack on the Supreme Court and the terror unleashed against the press reduced the judiciary to a helpless and silent spectator.

Distinguished members of the Bar,

My own life mirrors the larger Pakistani canvas of the last half- century of law, politics and a politicized judiciary.

Contrary to globally accepted values, Pakistan is one of the few nations where the military today rules, where judges are sacked, arrested and made to swear new oaths of allegiance.

The generals claim they are experts on freedom, and will take the country from "sham democracy" to "true democracy".

When the press is critical of Generals, the press comes in for a battering. As dictatorship continues, the crisis deepens.

Even as it does so, it weakens political structures, political parties, the judiciary, administrative framework of the country and even the constitution with arbitrary amendments passed by decree.

By so doing, dictatorship, when it withdraws, sows the seeds of its own return. And Pakistan falls victim to repeated military interventions.

That cycle can be broken, if we learn from this experience, to stand up to the dismissal of democratic governments through edicts to declare that the first lesson for a lawful society is democracy and more democracy.

Strong institutions strengthen the rule of law, giving birth to an orderly society, taking its place with pride in the world community.

I come here this evening as a citizen of country that is far than ordinary. It is a nation that exploded six nuclear devices, in response to India's five, in a game of nuclear upsmanship, in 1998. It fought 3 wars with neighboring India in the last 50 years. Last spring, both countries nearly went to war again over the frozen glaciers of a place called Kargil.

The ruling elite, with its contempt for the constitution, has robbed the one hundred and forty million courageous citizens of their right to determine the direction of their destiny.

The Commonwealth and Britain have rightly called for a restoration of the democratic process. Leadership is about speaking out boldly. Leadership is about defending human values.

It pains me to see Islamabad at odds with the prevailing international value system. Values that include freedom, human rights, minority, ethnic and gender rights. It pains me to hear of soldiers dying on the borders, of bomb blasts killing people at bus stops as they make their way to work. It pains me to see the regime pressured by militant organisations dictating an agenda of hate. An agenda that denies our people their rightful role as responsible citizens of a responsible country playing by the rules of the international game to gain peace, progress and stability.

The Generals are unable to grapple with the challenges of democratization, proliferation, terrorism, economic implosion and peace in the region. Their regime is prisoner to a myopic worldview, which died when Cold War ended with the fall of the Berlin Wall. Increasingly, there is an international mantra being sung about terrorism and Taliban and Islamabad.

The people are restive and ready to rise. But the political class is divided. Between those seeking fresh elections, those seeking the restoration of the suspended assemblies, those seeking power through judicial elimination of their winnable rivals and fundamentalists who see themselves as King Makers.

The challenge is to develop a consensus that the path to revival lies through a fair free and impartial reference to the people through elections and the transfer of power to the people's representatives.

For much of my life, I thought fair, free and impartial elections could be easily conducted. But I have seen elections manipulated even as observers watched an orderly procedure.

Unless the manner of the rigging of the 1990 and 1997 elections is determined and stopped, the fundamentalists will continue to play King Maker, ridding them of every unrepresentative puppet as he becomes unpopular just to bring another.

I deliberately use the word "he" for those brought in by extremist Kingmakers. In their vocabulary, there is little place for a "she".

So an army chief who is on the ground can be sacked if the King Makers wish it so. An army chief in the air can become the chief executive if the King Makers agree. The Kings think they exercise power but the King Makers whisper when they're going even before the Kings know it.

And when their manipulations bankrupt the process, the King Makers withdraw handing over to politicians to pull the country out of the crisis. As soon as that happens, they move in again.

And public hate is built by fuelling charges of corruption as the *raison d'être* of democratic death rather than an honest investigation allowing the law to determine the veracity of the accusations.

In all, five governments since 1985 were dismissed on unsubstantiated charges of corruption.

I admit that we, the political parties, also made mistakes.

One mistake was the inability to devise a mechanism for impartial investigation of corruption charges against members of a sitting government.

But now we all pay the price.

It's time for us to develop a consensus on impartial investigation, prosecution and trial of those charged with corruption in this, the age of transparency.

In so doing, one major plank that permits Kingmakers to derail democracy, take power and undermine the judiciary goes.

For much of my life, I believed that elections were a magic key which solved the democracy problem and with it the rule of law. I thought: once we win elections truth will triumph over tyranny.

How wrong I was.

It took more than two decades to realize that elections are only one part of a pluralistic democracy.

I have seen election results become a farce to deny the peoples mandate. I have seen my mandate mocked by elements within the military, judiciary and bureaucracy. I have heard them declare, she can be Prime Minister of Islamabad, the capital, but we will stop her from governing Pakistan, the country.

Whilst I should have been Tony Blair, I became Ken Livingstone.

This gave rise to a state within a state where there was a government and there wasn't a government.

As twice Prime Minister, my government was largely denied the right to appoint judges by an entrenched establishment that saw some members of the judiciary as their key to killing democracy.

Ironically, the failure of the judiciary in resolving real or perceived grievances in a manner publicly beyond criticism, forced groups to look at the military as their savior.

The inability of the judiciary to protect the Opposition, press, and even itself, from the fascist assaults of the Nawaz regime led to jubilation when the military intervened just one year back.

The challenge is to build an independent judiciary. But how does one go about doing that when a handful of dishonest, politicized judges packed in during dictatorship, continue to sit, and are even promoted and rewarded?

Technically, a Judge can be removed from office. Substantively that is a near impossibility except by the Generals

Generals have formed political parties too. General Hameed Gul admitted forming the Opposition to my Party in the elections of 1988. General Durrani admitted skimming money off public sector banks to bankroll candidates against my Party in the General Elections of 1990. General Musharaf is on record stating that the last elections did not give the second Nawaz regime a mandate although the army was in every polling booth.

Political interference by the Generals led to the break up of the country in 1971. More dangerously, it weakens the very integrity of the country.

This month I wrote the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan sending him copies of handwritten notes of the Chief Prosecutor asking accountability courts to “behave”. By behave he presumably meant formalizing his disqualification of political leaders prejudged guilty. I understand that the hand written note of the Prosecutor is available on the PPP web site.

Those judges who “behave” will continue in office after democracy is restored. Above accountability, they can fulfill their political agendas through judicial abuse. That deep is the rot that must be stemmed.

It can be stemmed through judicial accountability. However, a consensus is presently missing.

Another way is to change the present contempt law free public scrutiny of judgments once delivered.

The international community can fund NGOs to scrutinize judgments in cases of political discrimination as well as that concerning discrimination against religious minorities and women.

International financial institutions can focus on the law enforcement machinery constituted of investigators, prosecutors and judges. The entire machinery needs better funding for better performance.

Friends,

I have seen the judge who butchered justice in ordering the judicial murder of my Father, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, elected Senator.

A Judge, who dishonestly legitimized the overthrow of my first government, was elected President of Pakistan.

This same man stands accused by a former President of "taking briefcases of money" to bribe other judges in a famous 1997 case.

The Election Commission rejected Justice Tarrar's nomination for the presidency. Justice Qayyum, on leave for his Mother's funeral, rushed back to grant a stay. And Tarrar was elected.

As for the bribery charges, Tarrar, as a former Judge, like former generals, is immune to prosecution in real terms.

Last month, a key supporter of mine was brutally axed to death, burnt and his bones left to dissolve in a saline irrigation outfall. The killers admitted that they had been paid for and assured safety by a political opponent. The Inspector General Police rushed to Larkana to hush up the case.

Larkana has been selected for the first round of local elections and those who oppose my party are to be supported, even if they are prime suspects in a murder most gruesome.

Four years back, my brother Murtaza was gunned down in the streets of Karachi. I charged that he had been killed to overthrow my government. My opponents cruelly countered that I had had him killed.

An independent British investigation team was stopped from investigating the murder. A judicial inquiry exonerating my husband was hushed up. Four judges, two magistrates and four investigators were changed to fabricate a case against my husband.

One of the officers was asked to pervert the course of justice and be rewarded; in the event he declined, he was threatened with implication. He fled the country for England rather than bury justice. Today he has joined the British legal system.

But how many can do that? And that is why I ask the international community to step forward and assist the process of justice. In Pakistan and everywhere else where it is under assault.

The twentieth century was the century when freedom triumphed. But if we walk away now, the past could come back to haunt us once again.

The international community can focus on better funding for law enforcement and judiciary, funding for NGO's prepared to scrutinize wrongful prosecution and trial, funding for the UN Rapporteur on Judges and Judiciary, and others established in regional forums, to hire independent investigators for independent scrutiny of judgments and prosecutions deemed politically motivated by parliamentarians.

Friends,

Prime Ministers can be imprisoned, hanged and disqualified. Generals and Judges too in theory. Reality is different.

Lord Acton said that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Unless Judges and Generals are accountable along with Prime Ministers and Parliamentarians, power can and will be abused.

But honest Judges need protection too. Pakistan is a poor country. An accountability judge that refuses to "behave" can be sent home—and lose the fourfold increase in salary recently granted.

Early this year, the Junta's Law Secretary, a sitting judge of the high court, hiding under a blanket, in the darkness of the night, went to secretly meet a Supreme Court Judge asking him to behave or be sacked.

Soon thereafter, the night of the long knives took place. Almost half the Judges of the Supreme Court were unceremoniously sent home.

Judges can only be independent when they can do justice without fear and favor. And when they know that justice based on cronyism and disfavor will be punished.

My Party has written the United Nations Rapporteur on Judges and the Judiciary to investigate charges of judicial impropriety in the case in which I was judicially abused.

Former British Attorney General, Sir John Morris, has expressed his reservations in the words, "Looking at the case as a whole, there are grounds for grave misgivings as to the fairness of the trial"

Two American Chief Justices wrote, "An American court would not recognize the conviction as valid in the United states".

A Queen's Counsel wrote, "An English court would hold that such flaws were so fundamental that the convictions should, for that reason alone, be quashed".

A recently retired judge of Pakistan's Supreme Court opined "There is absolutely no case either against Mr. Zardari or Ms. Bhutto...both of them are entitled to acquittal" and

"God may help us when judges become partisan".

Pakistani Human Rights Groups have suggested that Pakistan establish a constitutional court to deal with constitutional issues. A constitutional court could free the ordinary courts from the enormous political pressures that are brought to bear in a country that has spent half its existence under the Generals.

Another proposal is for the law on conflict of interest. Under the present law, it is left to an individual judge to decide for himself whether he has a conflict of interest.

In my case, the Supreme Court Chief Justice over whom I had raised no objections, declined to hear my case citing conflict of interest. Yet those judges against whom conflict of interest concerns had been raised insisted on trying my party, my family and myself.

Two score and more cases were filed against my Mother, my husband and myself. Each case individually gave rise to other petitions and appeals. We were crushed under a mountain of litigation. The purpose was to mentally, physically and financially incapacitate us from performing our political duties, defending ourselves or even looking after our families.

Naively, the regime believed it could entrench itself by incapacitating the leader of opposition through judicial abuse. I was shuttled back and forth from city to city spending whole days in court. Leaving to catch one plane after another. I was disoriented and would wake up at nights wondering which city and roof I was in and under. I was totally unable to peruse documents against my self, to brief lawyers or to draw up a defence strategy.

My funds were frozen and the state refused to fund my defense or release my own funds for the same purpose. The Government announced the order freezing my accounts four hours before the Judge had signed it.

During the course of the case, state funds were used for half page advertisements proclaiming my guilt before the verdict was delivered. The numerous contempt petitions I filed against the regime were allowed to gather dust.

Judges sacked by my government and seeking revenge tried us. Their cruelty and how they mocked justice brutally and openly is before my eyes as I speak here tonight.

Judges that had worked as legal retainers for the Prime Minister's family concerns tried me, as leader of the opposition. Some of them, with bank loans from state banks were under pressure of business concerns going wrong if they did right with me. One Judge's son worked with a parliamentarian belonging to the ruling party. He assisted the prosecution. It was interpreted as the government paying cold cash to the Judge through his son to get my family and me.

Another judge had been deputy attorney general for the dictator who had kept me behind bars for nearly six years. His Father had sentenced my Father to death. I had sacked him and his brother was elected a parliamentarian from the Prime Minister's home constituency. He chased me from city to city when the Supreme Court took my case away from him. He denied me the right to a single defence witness. He wrote the order convicting me before the trial was over. I have evidence that he discussed my sentence with the regime. I am prepared to prove it if the Pakistani authorities invite the United Nations Human Rights Commission to examine my allegations.

The nephew of the General who hanged my Father amidst international outrage and the unanimous recommendation of the Supreme Court was appointed to try my husband. One lawyer told me how he was called by the Judge and asked to become the prosecution lawyer. The lawyer declined citing the death sentence involved and said his conscience did not permit him to take the case. The Judge

laughed and said," If I am prepared to give the death sentence, why are you not prepared to argue it".

I shiver as I recount the nightmare that my party, family and I have been subjected to even as the world celebrated the triumph of democracy in the twilight of the twentieth century.

Women hater judges were lined up against us. Bigot judges with gender, political and theocratic bias against us. This same judge was the one who refused help when a woman was killed by her family in the name of male honour.

Another Judge trying me was so biased against women that the Pakistan Human Rights Commission had complained about him. And here he was trying me even though he believed that women had no right to work.

An attempt was made to poison my husband by puncturing his toothpaste. When my husband made a judicial complaint, the complaint went uninvestigated.

A junior police officer was promoted to Inspector General Police and sent to kidnap my husband from prison on a weekend when the courts were shut. My husband was taken from judicial custody in violation of court orders. He was tortured and threatened that he would be killed if he did not implicate me, his wife. He was told that they could murder him and call it suicide. Three court orders ordering my husband transferred back to jail were ignored by the all-powerful executive.

Ultimately my husband's life was saved by a hair's breadth by the cumulative efforts of the judiciary, the diplomats, the Governor and a General. A judicial inquiry later determined that his injuries were not self-inflicted.

Distinguished Guests,

The concept of a public trial is rooted in the public judging judgments given by judges.

In England, it is inconceivable that a person convicted by a court of law could be elected to parliament.

Pakistan is the opposite indicating public perception that the judicial system is politicized.

Judges can be pressured for none can protect them if they take on the state.

However, the public has refused to be pressured by motivated judgments in giving up support to popular leaders.

It is to deceive the public that trials have been conducted in camera in jail or through restricted trials. In restricted trials five or six press persons are assigned the beat. The lawyers, intelligence and a few close aides of the defendants are permitted entry. The proceedings are largely shrouded in secrecy.

Huge police contingents with face and body plated with armor, guns and batons in hand with tear gas cylinders available would lay siege to the courtrooms. We had to cross three armed checkpoints to allow ourselves entry. Those seeking to enter with us would be beaten and left bleeding within earshot of the judges. The show of force was to intimidate our lawyers, the judges and us.

Once I was banned entry to my own hearing. Another time, elected Parliamentarians were banned entry. Elected President of a Bar Association was beaten until his back bled. When we finally persuaded the judge that he was entitled to enter as an officer of the court, the official showed his bruised and injured back. Instead of scolding the police, the judge admonished him for coming.

During our trials, our lawyers were kidnapped, banned from traveling, imprisoned, their families received threatening calls and they were intimidated in different ways. Many top lawyers refused to take our case.

I have great praise for the International Parliamentary Union, the Pakistan Human Rights Organisation, for Mr. Fernandes of the International Bar Association and for the United Nations special Rapporteur for Judges and the Judiciary. They were the few organizations that were prepared to listen to our complaints in the early days.

I have been so inspired by the concept of the Special Rapporteur on Judges and the Judiciary, that I would like to recommend to the Commonwealth, and the South Asia SAARC to consider establishing similar Rapporteurs to examine complaints of judicial impropriety and judicially backed perversion of justice.

For the time being, the UN Rapporteur can only visit a country after the government gives permission. This could change.

The Generals have packed the courts with politically motivated appointees. They can go on to destabilize democracy even after the military goes back to the barracks.

The Pakistani Human Rights Commissions and the elected Bar Associations can suggest how judicial appointments by the military can be scrutinized. The political parties can jointly back such a scrutiny. In doing so, the long shadow of the Generals through the judicial institution can be prevented.

Distinguished Listeners.

Europe has a European Court of Justice. An aggrieved citizen can approach the European Court of Justice.

Asia, particularly South Asia, can consider adopting the European example.

But for that to happen, South Asians need to deal with the ghosts of the past that haunt peace in the present.

For too long, South Asia countries have drawn lines in hatred and blood. Our inability to manage conflicts has led to wars, arms build-ups and stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction.

Even as we draw up huge arsenals meant to protect us against each other, even as we demonize each other, we neglect the human needs of our citizens. Vast numbers of our people live on the margins, without proper nourishment, clean water, health or educational facilities or due process. Our concept of greatness is tied to a bygone age rooted in military might.

Even as we build weapons of mass destruction, hundreds of our people commit suicide because they can no longer afford to live.

During the Cold War, superpowers rivalry subsidized our quest for such greatness. Now that the New World Order has begun, we extort our people for money to subsidize the machinery built in the hey day of the Cold War.

By so doing, Islamabad has bled the economy and given birth to a frightening implosion. An implosion that could lead to fundamentalist takeover and the nightmare scenario of nuclear weapons in the hands of extremists and their politics of hatred.

As a South Asian, I am worry when I see our efforts diverted to warmongering and weaponisation even as large sections of our people live in hunger and squalor.

My Party, too, was a prisoner of the precedent of power. It has taken a decade, and a threat to our very existence, to appreciate that the world has changed. The days of conquest heralded by the Caesars and Chengiz Khan of Napoleon and others has given way.

Greatness in the third millennium is determined by the ability of a nation to allow its people material and spiritual growth through a framework of peace and equal economic opportunity.

Yes, India and Pakistan have a dispute over Kashmir. Yes, it is difficult for either to accept the solution posed by the other. But, yes, it is also incumbent upon both to manage the conflict. Too many lives have been lost. The lives of Kashmiris, Pakistanis and Indians.

The Pakistan Peoples Party and I have proposed that India, Pakistan and the Kashmiris begin negotiations for safe and open borders along the disputed line of control in Kashmir without prejudice to the position of either party.

Safe and open borders can herald a new era of peace and open up opportunities. Opportunities for all South Asians in building a community of common values based on freedom and free markets, of free travel and free trade.

Conflict management can open up opportunities, open up markets and pave the way for a South Asian Court of Justice.

A South Asian Court of Justice will pressure host judicial systems to better performance. The very notion that a higher forum can challenge a judgment gives protection to victims of political, ethnic or gender discrimination even as it enhances the independence of the Judiciary.

Peace and a just legal system can unleash the entrepreneurial skills of our people. Imagine a market of one fifth and more of humanity. Imagine the investment that could flow and the creation of jobs. Great opportunities for your people and for mine, for both our continents and for all continents that make up our planet.

Britain has rightly spoken up for an end to the night of the Generals. There is more that can be done.

We can do it by watching out for civilian dictators who try to crush the opposition, creating a vacuum that draws the Generals in.

Unsubstantiated corruption charges must fail to blind us to the needs of due process. Torture, arbitrary arrest, wrongful confiscation of property must be opposed in the absence of due process.

The previous regime exploited religion to create a new political system. Afghanistan's Taliban system was officially praised. A proposed constitutional amendment sought subordinate of the state before one individual giving him the powers to "proscribe what is right and what is wrong" in Islam.

Those of us, who opposed it, were called heretics. Citizens were incited to kill the heretics.

Islam preaches peace and power to the people as agents of God. Islam has little place for dictatorship. Yet fundamentalist dictatorship was being threatened in the name of religion.

Democracy might have triumphed in the twentieth century but the rise of illiberal regimes, as the Pakistan model shows, can pose fresh threats to freedom and human dignity.

Friends,

A word of caution about international treaties of assistance. They can be exploited by illiberal regimes to eliminate opponents and give international legitimacy to their cruel actions.

The international community can and should resist cooperation when a request is bathed in perversion. I speak as an early victim of an order that allows cooperation without examining the merits of the charges. That is left to the host country. We have seen how fragile the judicial systems in host countries can be.

If a request for international assistance is based upon the use of torture and if the state has tampered with evidence, that request must be rejected. To do otherwise would be to collude with and encourage the use of torture and the perversion of justice.

I come here to praise the British legal system that gave us refuge when all doors seemed shut. My husband, Senator Zardari judicially challenged Islamabad's request to the Home Office under assistance treaties. Shortly before the High Court decision, the Home Office allowed us our request to be informed of the grounds of the request. For the first time we learnt the nature of the charges. To our deep shock, we found a terrible narcotics related charge had been made to malign us in the eyes of the democratic countries of Europe.

Even more shocking, we discovered, as we investigated further at home, that the case had been fabricated on the disputed statements of persons arrested and tortured. The High Courts of Pakistan in their orders had documented torture on those tortured.

The charge had been concocted by the executive despite the refusal of the General heading the anti narcotics force to sully his hands in the murder of justice.

This incident shows that some Generals can be better than some civilians, that rules for good and bad are neither black nor white.

In Britain, the Mother of democracy, we found the confidence to fight back. The Home Office, in acceding to Islamabad's request for assistance, has given us grounds for so deciding. These grounds can, and have been challenged, before British courts and so I shall say no more on that particular case.

However, I do argue that torture is inhuman and degrading; that it is often used to pervert justice and that states using torture in preparing a request must be denied assistance.

Torture was widely used to trump up charges against my Party and myself during my two stints in opposition. The extract from the Financial Times, November 12, 1999, about the kidnapping and torture of a British citizen is an illustration of what happened to scores of Pakistani citizens. I am going to read from it:

"PAKISTAN: Expert swept up in political intrigue
By Stephen Fidler and Nancy Dunne in Washington

Richard Ashby did not expect a welcoming committee as he stepped off a British Airways jet in Islamabad on August 17 last year. The 33-year-old project finance expert was met at the foot of the aircraft steps by Pakistani federal police who took him to an unkempt private house in Islamabad for an interrogation that began a month-long ordeal.

During this time, according to Mr. Ashby's account, his life was repeatedly threatened. He was deprived of sleep, beaten and spat upon. On one occasion, a revolver was held to his head; on another he was subjected to a game of Russian roulette. His captors described to him in terrifying detail the layout of the interior of his home in Arlington, Virginia, where he lived with his wife and daughter.

The Pakistani entity responsible for its side of the investigation was the Ehtesab, the “accountability bureau”. During his detention, Mr. Ashby said, he was taken on several occasions to see the head of the bureau, Senator Saifur Rehman. On one occasion, the senator threatened him and demanded a confession of corruption: “I want Benazir Bhutto. I want Asif Ali Zardari,” he said.

Mr. Ashby had never met Ms Bhutto or her husband.

There, he met two former Scotland Yard detectives. The two men said they were working for the Maxima Group, a London-based detective agency.

The detectives said they wanted to hear how bribes were paid to Benazir Bhutto and her husband. When Mr. Ashby said he had no direct knowledge of any of this, he said that one of the detectives replied: “If you know what is good for you, you will say whatever and you can get out of here.”

During his time in detention, Mr. Ashby was put under increasing pressure to admit to corruption and implicate others.

The senator suggested Mr. Ashby’s family in the US could be in danger. He made it clear that Mr. Ashby had been tailed for months before his detention, and his house had been entered. He described the house in minute detail - the location of his daughter’s bedroom, his Toshiba television, his Sony stereo. “He knew I kept my files under the stairs,” Mr. Ashby said.

On another occasion, when Mr. Ashby refused to co-operate, the senator entered the room screaming, eyes blazing “looking like the devil”.

“He threatened to throw me in jail, torture me, beat me. He said it would cost only 30 rupees (30 pence) to get me killed,” he said. The US had launched a cruise missile attack on Afghanistan at about the same time. “He said he would blame my death on some of the Afghans floating around.”

If this could happen to a British citizen who could turn to his Embassy and Government for support, imagine what was happening to our supporters.

Given the widespread use of torture and perversion of justice to which the PPP was subjected to in the last decade, it has proposed a Truth and Reconciliation Commission on the pattern of South Africa to investigate the charges and identify those responsible.

I also propose that the United Nations assist the elected Government in establishing a Judicial Commission to examine cases of judicial impropriety made against politicised members of the Bar.

That Commission is unable to give to my children the seven years they lost when their Father was held hostage to their Mother's political career. It is unable to give back life to those who lost it, or sight, or health to those who still bleed from where they were tortured. But it can give to coming generations the assurance of safety from the brutalities meted out to others before them. Pakistan's Founder, Jinnah, was cognizant that the real strength of American and British democracy lay in their legal systems.

Pakistan's inability to frame a constitution acceptable to the people and the federating units is part of the crisis. The Generals seek concentration of power through a presidential system or local authorities dependent on handouts. The provinces demand autonomy and a parliamentary form of government.

Pakistan's Founder proclaimed, "The constitution of Pakistan can only be framed by the people." Half a century later that is still to be done.

Some say that there is a game of musical chairs in Pakistan where the military and the people alternate in power. Theocrats try to use the Generals to rewrite the constitution. This game of musical chairs between the Generals and the people has played havoc with the country. Some academics are now describing Pakistan as a failed state. The tide of decline can be reversed. But for that, we need to change too.

I accept my share of responsibility. Given power in an environment, my leadership was based in part on precedent. I was wrong in following bad precedents that had become conditioned behavior.

My appointment of a junior justice as chief of the Supreme Court was a mistake. It unleashed judicial discontent. It made the chief defensive and he turned on the government too.

It pays little to indulge in favoritism, even if it is the pattern of the day. That's the easy way out and its wrong.

Good intentions alone are insufficient. The means must justify the ends.

Tolerance poses its own challenge in Pakistan. Power to interpret religion and strike down laws repugnant to it has been given the courts.

Such power rightfully vests in Parliament. We have had our economy rocked, and investment stalled, by judgments on fiscal systems pronounced by the justices in the name of religion.

Founder Jinnah had said, “You may belong to any religion or caste or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the State...”

Since Jinnah left, it has become increasingly the business of the state. My Party lacked a constitutional majority to change patriarchal structures. That’s why I tell the people of Pakistan: Give us one real chance with a proper parliamentary majority and a government in the majority province of Punjab.

Jinnah was a liberal and our supporters are liberals too. Jinnah died too soon and those who had opposed him gained increasing power.

Jinnah sought Partition of India on four elemental grounds: First, that Partition would allow the Hindu and Muslim communities in the Sub continent to live in peaceful coexistence; second the Muslim majority units comprising the new state would unite in a federation based on the parliamentary system; third religious tolerance would be preached; fourth, women would be emancipated.

We lost Jinnah’s dream in the game of global politics. Global politics placed Pakistan in the Western camp and India in the shadow of the Soviet Union. That put paid to peaceful co existence.

The Iron Curtain came down and compartmentalized our planet. The Berlin Wall divided Germany. Geography and superpower game of chess made us a frontline state in the fight against communism when foreign forces invaded Afghanistan.

Strategic concerns blinded western democracies to theocrats seizing power on the backs of Generals.

As soon as the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan, western largess dried up. We democrats have a right on the West too. Our people paid in lives, bomb blasts, military dictatorship and weak civil institutions in the fight to build a new world.

There is much the West can do in helping build democracy in a country that was once its most allied ally.

I’m arguing that the West can underwrite the cost of peace in the subcontinent by retiring off debt as it did in the Middle East.

Britain rightly wrote off debt to some of the world's poorest countries in the twilight of the twentieth century.

I'm arguing that the debts the dictators ran up can and should be written off to show our people that politics of peace pays dividends, that confidence building in proliferation matters is rewarded and democrats that practice good governance can be tangibly appreciated by the world community in its bid to foster global values.

It was James Bryce who said, and I paraphrase, "Law is respected and supported when it is trusted as the shield of the innocents...."

That shield is needed to protect democracy, human rights, provinces and the rights of the weaker segments of society, including women, children and minorities, in Pakistan.

I know of some very good judges in Pakistan. I recall Justice Arif Iqbal Bhatti who acquitted a Christian in a false case of Blasphemy. Justice Bhatti was assassinated. I can recall the name of Justice Samdani, Justice Dorab Patel, Justice Safdar Shah and so many others whose name shines in gold in the pages of history.

But "the good that men do is interred with them", it is the evil that lives on. It is important for all of us, even as we recall the good, to determine to tackle the evil together.

And evil lurks everywhere, just as good exists everywhere. Generals, Politicians, Judges, each one of us has our share of good and bad.

There is little point in recrimination. Life, as my Father used to say, is to precious a gift to squander in bitterness or recrimination.

I look to a future, letting go of the past. It's the future that's in our hands, yours and mine.

In my life of triumphs and tragedies I learnt that you don't have to be strong or powerful to succeed. You just have to have the right ideas.

I recall a story about success that I want to share.

One day, I got the opportunity to talk to the chief of the most powerful nation in the world. I asked him the secret of his success. He said, "Two words". I asked what those two words could be and he said, "Right decisions"

I asked, "how do you make the right decisions" to which I got the reply, "Experience".

I asked, "How do you get experience?"

I was told, "Wrong decisions".

Experience is a great teacher and in this remarkable era of peace and freedom where the dignity of an individual is acknowledged, I learn from experience to play my part for my people.

I know you will play yours, for a future better than any of the yesterday's that we have known.

Thank you ladies and gentlemen.

**Mohtarma Bhutto Addresses Students in Seoul:
Says Women Rights Inseparable from Human Rights Highlights role of Islam
as guarantor of Women Rights
Seoul - May 2, 2001**

Former Prime Minister and Chairperson of the Pakistan Peoples Party Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto has said that women's rights are inseparable from human rights, just as economic justice is inseparable from political liberty. 'In the modern era, these issues determined the essence of morality, civility and a just society'.

She was addressing the student of Seoul University on Wednesday on the subject of "Women's Rights". The former Prime Minister is in South Korea on a five day visit as guest of the former South Korean President Kim Young Sam.

She said she was addressing the students with a unique double focus. "I wear the scars, on my body and my soul, of the abuse of basic human rights. Thus I view oppression through the eyes of the victim".

Mohtarama Bhutto said that the world can become a fair place only when each and every human being on the planet was treated equally. "Liberty is the most enduring and powerful personal and political value on earth". Communism was defeated by humanism and not by NATO forces, she said.

The former Prime Minister said that there was no human right more fundamental, and more universal, than equal rights for woman in the new century and added that the spirit of Islam guaranteed women's rights. 'Cast aside your preconceptions about the role of women in our religion', she told the audience and said the fundamental ethos of Islam is tolerance, dialogue and democracy.

There is no religion on earth that, in its teachings, is more respectful of the role of women in society than Islam. 'It is this tradition of Islam that has empowered me, has strengthened me, and has emboldened me. It is this tradition of Islam that has allowed me battle for political and human rights, and strengthens me today in this hour of crisis for my family, my nation and me'.

The former Prime Minister said that today in Pakistan the cause of human rights is being set back decades and that of women's rights is being set back a century.

'My successor's attempt to turn back the clock on women's rights, on liberal society, on pluralistic democracy focused on me, on destroying me politically at home and destroying my reputation abroad. Only now did the world recently learn in the Sunday Times of London that the charges brought against me were concocted and contrived and the judges that convicted me and my husband were ordered to do so, were actually threatened to do so'.

Mohtarama Bhutto said that as Prime Minister she instituted a massive program to address the problem of women illiteracy in Pakistan, through the construction of thirty thousand schools with programs aimed at teaching girls as well as boys, in the cities and in the rural areas, to read. Those programs of women literacy have been abandoned, she said.

The former Prime Minister said that she condemned the honor killing, by members of their own families, of women but the military junta was now silent to these abominations. The military, currying favor with the fundamentalists, has reversed her government's policy of encouraging women in sports and extracurricular activities, she said. .

Case by case, issue-by-issue, policy-by-policy, the military junta that rules Pakistan with a cane and a whip has reversed policies aimed at ameliorating the role and rights of women in Pakistani society, she said.

She urged the international community to help shape a world free from exploitation and maltreatment of women. A world in which women have opportunities to rise to the highest level in politics, business, diplomacy, and other spheres of life. Where women have economic freedom and independence.

Where women are defined less by their fathers or husbands, but by their own achievements.

About democracy she said 'none of us - not you, not me -- will be free until democracy is returned to Pakistan, to Burma and other places where it is under threat'.

None of us -- not you, not me -- will be free until women are no longer abused, exploited and persecuted in Pakistan, South Korea and other continents and countries.

She said that we are not free if girls cannot read. For a girl who cannot read has no future; and a girl with no future has no human rights.

Bhutto Compares Fight for Pakistani Democracy to Fight Against Apartheid in South Africa

by Benazir Bhutto

Johannesburg - August 7, 2001

Speaking before the top one hundred women business and political leaders of the Republic of South Africa, Opposition leader Benazir Bhutto compared Pakistan's fight for democracy to South Africa's Fight against Apartheid.

Bhutto, who flew into Johannesburg yesterday received wide coverage in the South African print and electronic press.

She received a warm welcome from the professional women at the Women's Conference to commemorate Women's Week in South Africa. The title of the Conference was Women and Leadership: Against the Odds. She was the key note speaker.

Extracts of the Speech follow:

It is a particular honor for me to be with you this morning at this gathering of women as part of your Nation's historic celebration of Women's Day.

What makes this more special is that we meet in South Africa. All during the time I was growing up in Pakistan, and going to school in America and England, the words "South Africa" were a metaphor for injustice, and terror and inhumanity.

And then, miraculously, the words "South Africa" were transformed into a metaphor for people all over the world who are oppressed. South Africa became a metaphor for hope, for the triumph of justice, and a demonstration that determination and courage can create miracles.

Ladies and gentlemen, if apartheid can crumble in South Africa, racism, sexism and bigotry can crumble in every corner of this planet.

I stand here with you truly in the epicenter of world freedom. Yet the world still is complex; a world that defies simple explanations and simple solutions; a world that is still very much in transition from one set of political realities to another.

The world is less the simple place than we had dreamed it would be in the late eighties, with communism disintegrating and democracy taking root all over Eastern Europe, Southeast and Southwest Asia, and Africa.

In those days, the World talked about how to spend the anticipated on domestic needs and international responsibilities. And in Pakistan, we were finally coming to grips with restoring democracy and economic reform after a decade of bitter, brutal Martial law.

But, the forces of dictatorship did not relinquish their iron grip of my country so easily. Today, I travel to South Africa to speak with you at a difficult time for me, and my country. And in light of your bitter history of political repression, I would hope that you would open your hearts to the suffering of my people.

This is a time of crisis and tragedy in Pakistan.

History has sadly come full circle on the subcontinent.

A military regime once again rules my homeland with an iron fist. The last vestiges of democratic institutions are being assaulted and dismantled.

No Parliament. No state assemblies. No independent judiciary. No human rights. No free press. No independent labor organizations. Heavily controlled and regulated NGOs.

Women are being thrown back into another era, into another century of repression and exploitation.

We witness a tragic rise in exploitation of religion for political purposes.

A stalemate between India and Pakistan in Kashmir.

An unsuccessful summit between the two nuclear-armed nations of South Asia only last month collapsing in shambles.

It is not a pretty picture. It is a dangerous picture.

This is Pakistan in the year 2001.

The disintegration of democracy in Pakistan did not come overnight, and it did not come in one military coup. Since my government was overthrown four years back Pakistan has drifted rudderless in a sea of conflict and violence -- an agenda of vengeance and a hijacking of democracy.

The heirs to the dictator General Zia ul Haq who terrorized Pakistan with an iron fist for a decade, were resurrected with new names and new methods.

My successor elected in a military backed fraudulent election imposed a one party dictatorship on Pakistan.

I was the first victim. And then my party. And then the constituencies across the breadth of my country that supported the agenda of democratic and economic reform.

And then the Prime Minister attempted to topple the one institution that brought him to power and that could defend itself.

His attempt to topple the Army failed. But now we all pay the price.

The military stepped in to restore order and democracy in our Nation. It succeeded in neither. And the last pretenses of democracy and democratic institutions have evaporated.

To tighten their grip on political opposition, the President of our country was toppled. The power of the courts was usurped. Judges were sacked. Journalists were assaulted. Censorship was imposed. The rights of women were thrown back a generation.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Just as in South Africa during the terror of apartheid, supporters of democracy and human rights were forced into exile once again.

I know it has become the fashion both in the developed and developing world over the last decade, to destroy leaders' reputations by innuendo, allegation and rumour. This strategy now even has a name -- the politics of personal destruction.

This is true not just in Pakistan, but even in the most developed democracies.

But the scale to which this was orchestrated in Pakistan against my party defied anything seen in the world. It was a relentless, devastating and overt assault on justice in an attempt to eliminate my leadership and to destroy me personally.

Bureaucrats, businessmen and cabinet members were arrested and tortured to perjure themselves to fabricate false charges. I was truly blessed that they remained strong and would not be tortured and threatened into betraying me. But their failure to coerce witnesses didn't stop my successors from proceeding.

I was pressured and humiliated in increasingly desperate attempts to force me to quit politics.

My own husband was accused of even more ridiculous and scurrilous charges, including, the unspeakable slanders of murdering my own brother and trafficking in drugs. And his father was arrested to pressure him.

My husband and father-in-law are still behind bars, hostages to my political career.

The full extent of the plot against me was revealed through the extraordinary release of bugged conversations, proving beyond doubt that the charges against me were contrived.

I used to think, naively, that an election alone could change things for the better. Now I realize that a country needs more than democratic elections, it needs the rule of law.

An election can bring in a new Parliament and a new government.

It cannot, however, bring in a new bureaucracy or intelligence system.

It cannot, without an independent judiciary, lift the veil on the Machiavellian intrigues that take place that are both brutal and barbaric and undermine civil society.

It cannot give acknowledgment, without fair hearing, to the victims of tyranny -- those who lost their lives, then livelihoods, their families, their peace of mind, who were tortured, imprisoned or forced to flee to foreign lands for refusing to commit perjury and destroy the path of justice.

Does it sound familiar, ladies and gentlemen? South Africa of the seventies. Pakistan today.

The suffering is not of one person, not of one family, not of one political party, but of an entire nation.

Ladies and gentlemen, an edifice built without law collapses, just as a skyscraper built without a foundation will ultimately crumble.

Pakistan is in turmoil and with it the stability in the region is threatened.

Issues of poverty, gender equality and minority rights are calling for attention, as are the issues of unemployment and inflation.

As the military junta rules, religious fundamentalists take up more political space at the cost of political forces. Pakistan could be threatened with an Islamic revolution. But this revolution would be nuclear armed. The "Talibanization" of Pakistan can literally threaten world peace.

Ladies and gentlemen, the story of Pakistan did not have to turn out this way, and I am convinced that ultimately things will be very different.

The democratic government I led did its best to create a new, modern Pakistan. With the mandate and support of the people we marketed the country as a crossroads to the Gulf, Central and South Asia.

We advanced our country as a model of Islamic moderation.

We committed ourselves to education, with special programs targeted to female illiteracy.

We committed ourselves to immunization and children's health. We committed ourselves to family planning and population control.

We transformed the country into a center for financial and commercial investment, creating jobs and wealth. We created the physical infrastructure, the roads, the electricity, and the power plants, to sustain a modern, developed economy.

After my overthrow and charges of corruption, the international community stepped back and foreign investment in Pakistan dried up. . Businessmen clearly prefer stable economies and stable markets, in countries governed by the rule of law, where contracts are honored and commitments fulfilled.

The absence of law also intimidated domestic investment as well. Martial law and economic development are mutually exclusive, they cannot exist together.

The dignity of our financial system is correlated with the destruction of legitimate political institutions, proving once again, just like the international divestiture movement against South Africa under apartheid, democracy and economic development must proceed simultaneously.

It is such times that test the mettle of real leadership. Ironically, but repeatedly, history tells us that the best of leadership is constructed in the worst of times.

I welcome the Commonwealth's and the international support for democracy in Pakistan.

Under that pressure, the Generals recently permitted local elections. My party supporters emerged as the single largest winners even though they fought without me on the ground and without the party symbol on the ballot. We proved against all odds that democracy is irrepressible, that ultimately the people will prevail.

The question before my nation is how many will suffer imprisonment, deprivation, discrimination, poverty and even death before justice and the forces of history restore the democratic order.

And although I know not the answer to that question, I know it is my obligation to lead this battle once again, no matter what the personal price, to restore a democratic Pakistan.

It is not necessarily the life I would have chosen for myself. But it seems to be the life that chose me. And in the words of President John Kennedy, "I do not shrink from this responsibility, I welcome it."

For leadership is born of a passion, and it is a commitment. A commitment to an idea, to a people, to a land. I travel, never knowing when I will be able to see my husband. He has been in prison for the fifth year running, a hostage of my political career.

I travel and miss my children. They are all under thirteen. It is difficult explaining to little children why their mother can't be with them, why their father is a political prisoner.

I am reconciled to the fact that the needs of my 140 million people come first, and will always come first.

For those in the feminist movement who say that woman can have it all simultaneously, I urge they look at my life. Women can have it all but Women have to make difficult choices, often choices that men are not forced to make. And we must live with the consequences, for better or worse.

It is not always easy. But we do it for all the woman who came before us who gave us this opportunity. And most of all, we do it for all woman who will come after us -- the baby girls yet unborn!

Ladies and gentlemen, to succeed as a political leader, one must be on call all the time, like an Emergency Room doctor, but unlike a doctor, without a moment's break. On call for good news and bad. On call to respond quickly, to think quickly to move quickly.

I was brought up in a political family. In a way, I was groomed for politics. Yet, a political role was not one that I actively sought. It came to me through an accident of fate.

I had just completed my education and returned to Pakistan in 1977 when the tanks rumbled up the road in Rawalpindi and troops took over the Prime Minister's House. My younger siblings had to go back to their studies.

I stayed behind and was pulled into the political campaign by the arrest of senior party leaders. That put an end to my career goal to join the Foreign Service in Pakistan and become High Commissioner to England or Ambassador to the US, the two countries I had studied in and knew well.

Fate took over my life and my destiny was no longer in my hands.

Thus, some are born to leadership, whilst others have leadership thrust upon them. Many women leaders, particularly in South Asia, have been thrown into political waters. The assassin's bullet, the sound of boots or tragedy has thrust them into a role they might otherwise not have chosen. Yet they are more than extensions of the male members of their families.

Each woman leader has had to win her badge of courage and recognition.

As a child of my age, in the late sixties, I was influenced by the social ferment around me. The worldwide students movement, from Rawalpindi, to France, to Washington, were important factors in my youth. The fight against apartheid shaped the ferocity of my commitment to stand up for principle. Kate Millet and the burgeoning movement for women's race empowered me and emboldened me.

As an Asian at Harvard, I bitterly resented the war in Vietnam and joined up with American students to protest a war that they thought was unjust and did not want to fight.

It was also the time of the impeachment against President Nixon. A time of moral reawakening, as Martin Luther King spoke passionately about justice and injustice in America and in South Africa.

These important steps helped shape my outlook on life, helped me focus on fighting injustice, promoting freedom and safeguarding the rights of the weak and dispossessed.

But above all, in America during the Vietnam War I saw the awesome power of the people changing policies, changing leaders, and changing history.

From Harvard I went to Oxford.

While I was at Oxford, the Conservative party chose a woman, Margaret Thatcher, as the Leader of Opposition.

At Oxford, I was the first female foreigner to be elected as President of the Oxford Union. It was there that I learned to debate, slowly gaining confidence before an audience.

As the Prime Minister of Pakistan I appeared before an historic Joint Session of the United States Congress in 1989. In that address, the most meaningful line to me was my simple message to the woman of America, my message to the women of the world. Three simple, powerful words: YES YOU CAN!

Don't accept the status quo. Don't accept no for an answer. Don't accept traditional roles and traditional constraints. And don't think that leadership and being female are contradictory.

My victory was a victory for women everywhere. It broke the mind cast of the past.

I was the first woman ever elected head of government in the Muslim world. Now four others, two in Bangladesh, one in Turkey and in Indonesia, have followed in my path. One more glass ceiling is shattered. But thousands are left to break.

The day is not far off when women will join even the Armed Forces of Pakistan, an idea that I discussed with my service chiefs in my last tenure. They already began the journey of joining the judiciary in my last term. The appointment of women judges is something I am very proud of, as well as the creation of a Women's Development Bank to make small loans to women entrepreneurs.

And as women enter the work force, it becomes more sensitive too, to the needs of women and the difficulties in their lives.

Your record on human, political and economic rights for woman in South Africa should inspire women all around the world to keep on pressing, keep on fighting, keep on working for the rights of equality that cannot forever be denied.

I have attempted, throughout my career, to combine the best of different experiences.

To build for my people a modern world.

By heralding in the information revolution, introducing fax machines, digital pagers, optic fiber, cellular telephones, satellite dishes, Internet, the e-mail and even CNN into Pakistan.

Under my leadership of de-regulation Pakistan integrated into the global economy becoming one of the ten emerging capital markets of the world.

The International Labor Organization's data showed that the largest job generation in Pakistani history took place in the PPP government.

The World Bank called our energy program a model to the entire developing world.

The President of the World Health Organization gave me a gold medal in recognition of our efforts to improve the health of our children by eliminating polio and reducing infant mortality.

We increased literacy rates by one third and secured women's rights by signing the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women in Beijing.

We brought down the population growth rate whilst we took up the economic growth rate.

It was a remarkable transformation of a society for our downtrodden and under privileged people.

That is my legacy to the people of Pakistan.

We believed in education, and we believed in markets.

We believed in opportunity and we believed in foreign investment.

We believed in giving our people hope in a better future.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Despite the travails of the last four years, I am not bitter.

In my father's last letter to me before he was murdered by one of Pakistan's many military tyrants, he quoted Tennyson: "Ah, what shall I be at fifty if I find the world so bitter at 25."

He had then turned fifty and I twenty five.

He asked me never to be bitter. I have honored my father's dying wish.

I look at South Africa today and tears come to my eyes. My faith in humanity and my faith in God are strengthened by the miracle that has happened here. You -- the people of South Africa - inspire and empower all of the oppressed, all over the world. My nation and I remain optimistic about the future, knowing in our hearts that time, justice and the forces of history are on our side.

Thank you ladies and gentlemen.

Social Development and Women's Empowerment
Ms Benazir Bhutto Address to 'Council of Indian Industry'
New Delhi - November 26, 2001

Ladies and Gentlemen:

By your focus on the essential rights of woman in society, you support the voice of the powerless, the exploited, and the abused. For women, despite the strides taken in the last century, are still the most powerless and exploited group in the world community. For me, the cause of women, is God's most noble cause, the cause of justice, equality, and life. So I thank the Indian Chamber of Industry for inviting me to New Delhi.

We meet today in challenging times. I feel myself privileged to speak to the captains of trade and industry of one of the biggest growing markets of the world community. Those major markets promise to make your country a major decision maker in the world. India's emergence in the post Cold War period shows the importance of the force of free markets in the political landscape of the global community.

That force of market politics, when applied to my country in 1993, made it one of the ten emerging capital markets of the world.

Ladies and Gentleman,

This is my second visit to New Delhi. I came here first to take part in the funeral ceremonies for Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. I came to pay respects to a leader with whom I had worked to build a safer South Asia.

Prime Minister Gandhi and I signed the most important bilateral agreements in 1988 since the signing of the Simla Agreements by our parents in 1972.

We signed the first nuclear confidence building treaty, the non attack on each others nuclear facilities agreement.

We established, for the first time, hot lines between the General Headquarters of both our countries.

We opened our borders for better trade.

At SAARC, we determined to work for a common SAARC travel card and a common SAARC pre posted mailing card.

We understood that Europe triumphed over hate and war and that we could do so too.

We reached draft agreements on redeployment of troops to Kargil without prejudice to our view points on the icy area.

We reached a draft agreement for the mutual reduction and redeployment of troops between our two countries.

But both our governments went and with it the brief spring when two young leaders stood at the brink of historical change.

The hope born then was rekindled under the leadership of Prime Minister Vajpayee. He visited Lahore in 1999 and invited the country's military ruler to Agra in 2001.

His Home Minister Advani agreed to talk unconditionally with the All Parties Hurriyat Conference.

The Indian Government announced a unilateral ceasefire in Kashmir and met with the militant groups.

These were important steps taken.

They required vision and strength.

The vision to build a South Asia free of tension, where the people of South Asia have the strength and the courage to reject tension and embrace peace to build a better world for the coming generations.

Ladies and Gentleman,

I was planning to visit India for some time. I planned to come here in 1999 but the fighting in Kargil broke out.

I planned visiting India this October, but fighting in Kabul broke out.

It was with some trepidation that I accepted the invitation by the Confederation of Indian Trade and Industry.

This time the stars were right, I am here with you and it is a special privilege for me to speak before you today.

Too few political leaders from India and Pakistan, particular from the political field, visit each other.

I am here to break that precedent and set a new precedent.

I hope that can be the start of new precedents that our two Nations are able to achieve as we enter the twenty first century.

The Pakistan Peoples Party, which I lead, trusts in relationships of a political nature. We invited the Opposition leaders of the SAARC to Karachi in 1992 to build closer political links between the elected representatives of our region.

Ladies and Gentleman,

It is impossible to separate women's rights from human rights, just as it is impossible to separate economic justice from political liberty. In the modern era, these issues are the essential operationalizations of morality, of civility, of a just society.

I come before you with a unique double focus. On one level, as the victim of human rights violations today and in the past, and on another level as someone who has had the extraordinary opportunity to address women's rights in my own country.

I am no stranger to the issues of women's empowerment. I wear the scars, on my body and my soul, of the abuse of basic human rights, and thus I view oppression through the eyes of the victim.

We do not live in a perfect world, and even amongst the rapidly expanding democratic community there often seems coldness, indifference, hypocrisy and lingering prejudice.

Many thought heaven would appear on earth with the crumbling of the Berlin Wall.

A decade later we find that Europe may be united, but the cause of justice of the discriminated people in many countries is far from complete.

Let us be truthful, the world will be a fair place when each and every human being on our planet is treated equally.

And there is no human right more fundamental, and more universal, than equal rights for woman in the new century.

Democracy is the first step toward humanity's liberation.

But it is not an end in itself.

Liberty depends on social and economic justice, and above all on the universal, non-selective application of human rights to all citizens of the world.

Economic development and political development are surely linked, but both are predicated on guaranteed human rights.

As the first woman ever elected to head an Islamic nation, I feel a special responsibility about issues that relate to women.

I am often asked about the place of women in the message of Islam. For me, the discrimination against women has little to do with Islam and more to do with custom and tradition.

Here in South Asia, many of the women in the ethnically and religiously diverse countries suffer similar fates.

Too many are denied the right to live fully.

Too often, women are seen as extensions of the male rather than as individuals in their own right.

One of the difficulties I encounter is the prejudice born of centuries that a woman is the property of the man.

Here I am an independent woman, educated in modern universities, the daughter of an emancipated leader and I find myself the center of controversy in the minds of the traditionalists.

For them, my husband is to blame for letting me work.

Traditionally respected men did not allow their wives to work. By that definition, in their eyes, my husband must be something other than a respectable person.

They punish him, to punish me, and in seeking to punish us, they seek to punish women, and men who see women as separate legal entities, everywhere.

The battle with the traditionalists is a battle that has dogged my political career. During the general elections in 1988, the opposition claimed that those voters who cast their vote for me would have their marriage vows dissolved in the eyes of God.

Such hysterical denunciation of a woman seeking the highest electoral office highlights some of the prejudices that women in South Asia face as they seek political and economic empowerment.

South Asia is home to some of the deepest prejudices that exist against women. Honour Killings and gas stove murders of women are the extreme manifestations of the prejudices against women.

Yet South Asia is home to the largest number of women elected in any place and at any time in the world community.

Sri Lanka's Mrs. Bandernaike led the way with her election as Prime Minister. This was followed by the election of India's Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Pakistan and Bangladesh came next.

Bangladesh went one step forward in having a leader of the house and leader of the Opposition from the same gender.

The rise of women leaders in South Asia often reinforces the traditionalist view that women are extensions of their menfolk. We are often told that we got where we did because of who we were related to, rather than inherent qualities.

The leading men in our father's lives called Mrs. Gandhi "Guryha" (doll) and I was called "that girl".

Certainly, who we were was important to why we entered the political minefield. Our political backgrounds enabled us to network better whilst our family names gave us the charisma that comes with the legend that the men in our lives were.

Yet it would be half the story to write of us as extensions of the male members of the family. There were other men in our families, some of whom did come forward to contest and compete.

Its important to recognise that each woman leader in South Asia had something within her which enabled her to succeed.

Family name is important and character is important too.

In South Asia, the rights of women have more to do with the social class they belong to.

Women from privileged classes live life according to different standards than those of other classes.

For me, the empowerment of women lies less in laws and more in economic independence.

And it lies also in men. Our Fathers' who encourage us. Our male colleagues who stand by us. Our male followers who support us and the male citizens who vote for us.

Dependent women, like dependent nations, are not free to take the decisions they may like to take. For them survival becomes the code with which to address their situation.

I was reminded about this starkly when Pakistan's military regime justified joining the international coalition against terror on grounds of survival.

The military regime said it feared that its nuclear assets and other strategic concerns could be endangered if it failed to join up.

That is not the way I would have put it. Yet it illustrates two points. First that, women often make pragmatic choices because they are yet to become free.

Second, that even men put survival before other issues which shows that the strength of the social background matters where freedom is concerned.

We are all born free, as Rousseau said, yet too many of us are in chains. These chains come from the state or they come from the mind.

These chains can be broken if we will it. Its important for South Asia to break the chains that hold its women back.

Women bear children, feed and look after infants. Women, by nature, learn to nurture.

This is a time when women's leadership, at all levels of society, is all the more important.

Its when we learn to nurture that we can free our societies from warlike thoughts, aggression and other characteristics that forced us onto dangerous paths.

For women to succeed, job opportunities and avenues are needed.

Respect for the fundamental rights for women will flow when women have the economic means to stand up for themselves.

The government I led did its best for women. We recruited Lady Health Workers, an army of them, to reduce population growth rate and infant mortality rate.

We hired new teachers for our primary schools and seventy per cent of them were women.

We set up a women's bank run only by women for women although men were allowed to put their money in the accounts.

We ran advertisements asking women to report husbands who beat them to the police stations.

We appointed women judges to the superior judiciary for the first time in our history.

We established women's police stations which women could visit with confidence.

We lifted the ban on women taking part in sports.

We hosted a Women's Olympics and held the first meeting of the Parliamentarian for Muslim women.

And because I was a woman, every woman felt protected.

Not a single case of honour killings was reported during my tenure after we arrested a man who burnt his wife with electric wires in 1994.

My Government signed the Convention Against Discrimination Against Women as I led the delegation to the Beijing Conference of Women in 1995.

It was a remarkable time in the lives of Pakistani women.

In tens of thousands they joined the work force.

I remember a meeting with the women in the rural background of a place called Toba Tek Singh in central Punjab.

"What's the news?" I asked the women as we met to chat about the changes taking place.

"The rate of divorce has gone up", I was told.

For a person of my generation, this was a shock. Divorce was frowned upon when I was growing up.

"That's terrible", I said. In return, they were shocked. They wanted to know why it was terrible.

I spoke of broken families and the suffering that divorce would cause, to which they replied.

"We have too much self respect to now accept what we were prepared to accept in the past".

Having jobs had liberated them. The opportunity to earn enabled them to make free choices.

For me, independent means is the most powerful weapon in the empowerment of women.

Today in Pakistan, the veil of repression has descended across our people. The cause of human rights is being set back decades. But the cause of women's rights, I am sad to say, is being set back a century.

The attempt to turn back the clock on women's rights, on liberal society, on pluralistic democracy focused on me, on destroying me politically at home and destroying my reputation abroad.

Only recently did the world learn, first from the Sunday Times of London and then Zee Television that the charges brought against me were concocted and contrived and the judges that tried me and my husband were ordered to do so, were threatened to do so.

The tape recordings of these orders from the Prime Minister's Office to the courts may have shocked the world, but they certainly did not shock me and the forces of democracy in Pakistan.

We have become accustomed to all and every attempt to use the politics of personal destruction to turn back the course of democracy, human rights and women's rights in our homeland.

It didn't work then. It will not work now.

It saddens me to see the price the women of Pakistan paid for the dismissal of the democratic government I led. It is particularly heartbreaking to see the dismantlement of the array of special programs that I instituted in my two terms as Prime Minister to raise the quality of life of women in Pakistan.

My departure led to the collapse of national revenues, investment and growth.

And the money for people welfare programs was simply not there.

Of those programs, the programs for women, the weakest of the social classes, were hit first.

The women of South Asia cannot be expected to struggle alone against the forces of discrimination, exploitation and manipulation. I recall the words of Dante who reminded us that

"The hottest place in Hell is reserved for those who remain neutral in times of moral crisis."

Today in this world, in the fight for the liberation of women, there can be no neutrality.

Our outrage at violence and discrimination directed at women cannot be selective.

Hate, bigotry and violence have no international borders. Every shamed, abused girl, wherever she lives, is a mute witness for all women, everywhere in the world.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I speak at a time when new forces shape the new century, the new millennium.

We shape a world committed to universal social, economic and political values - this triangular definition of comprehensive human rights for the future.

We must shape a world free from exploitation and maltreatment of women.

A world in which women have opportunities to rise to the highest level in business, diplomacy, and other spheres of life.

Where there are no battered women. Where honour and dignity are protected in peace, and in war.

Where women have economic freedom and independence.

Where women are equal partners in peace and development.

Repressive forces always will stand ready to exploit the moment and push us back into the past.

Let us remember the words of the German writer, Goethe [pronounced Ger-ta]:

"Freedom has be re-made and re-earned in every generation."

The women of South Asia will not be free, until we determine to empower them.

Empower them with words, with laws, with awareness, with economic opportunities and with role models.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are not free if girls cannot read.

For a girl who cannot read has no future; and a girl with no future has no human rights.

In this elegant city, we must remember that in the time it took for me to address you today, over one thousand children have starved to death on this planet.

As long as these basic violations of human rights are allowed to continue, none of us -- regardless of where we live, regardless of how civilized our life-styles, regardless of our own personal circumstances and comforts -- none of us are free.

A growing number of women enter the world force even as I speak with you today. They change the social complexion of the market force.

Women change consumer patterns of the past.

This is a world where gender and markets determine the power of a backward or forward nation.

This is a world where economic interests drive nation states into new political alignments.

I am told there are 51 multi-national corporations that comprise the world's 100 largest economies. The remaining 49 are countries.

The sales of General Motors and Ford are greater than the GDP of sub-Sahara Africa. The American superstore – Wal-Mart – has a higher turnover than the revenues of many Asian countries.

Corporations are fast assuming the responsibilities that states failed to meet. Health, housing, education are some of the sectors where corporations are stepping in for their employees.

Ladies and gentlemen

We live in a new era. An era which witnessed the break up of many countries, including the all powerful superpower the Soviet Union.

An era where the earth has shrunk into a global village.

An era where the social consciences of the world is still to develop as ruthless market forces push their way across the capital centers of the world.

Global Capitalism promises much in terms of changing lifestyles.

Yet, unless its forces are matched by organised and articulate regional responses, the repercussions could be dangerous for those of us still living with high rates of poverty.

And our rates of poverty are high.

South Asia has one quarter of the world's population.

But it lives in 4% of the world's land area.

One Quarter of humanity – and its income is less than 2% of the total income of the world.

One quarter of humanity – and its per capita is only 10% of the world average.

These figures do not make me proud.

They cannot make you proud.

This is a time for countries of South Asia to reduce tension, acknowledging there are disputes, to focus on meeting parallel challenges.

My Party and I are committed to conflict management over the Indo Pak dispute of Jammu and Kashmir.

We witnessed the fall of Yugoslavia into a multitude of ethnic and warring states.

Nations that fail the test of economic viability can collapse into bloodshed and civil war.

Globalisation changes cultures, geographies, social organizations and the way we live, think and conduct ourselves.

Globalisation is freeing individuals from state control, making travel easier and business transnational.

The over-regulated state suffocates businesses forcing decentralisation to achieve growth.

Capital flees at the first tremor.

As states de-regulate, they abandon their authority.

The weakening state authority enables individuals to open up to new ideas and new values.

The sweeping changes that are occurring can occur rampantly.

Or they can be fashioned by states that have the wisdom to put their priorities right.

The old trade association are giving way to new ones.

The World Trade Organisation is emerging as the key structure.

We, the countries of South Asia, are yet to hold meaningful discussions on how South Asia should approach the different issues raised at this important forum.

The WTO will fashion the economic of the next half century. I hope it is a better half century than the one which we saw with GATT and UNCTAD.

I was concerned to see the United Nations report that more than 30 percent of the real per capita incomes have fallen over the last 35 years.

I am concerned that the disparity in per capita income between the poorest and the richest countries is over 300 hundred per cent today. Half a century ago, it was much less.

The countries that prospered were the countries that lived in peace.

Countries that suffered were countries caught in conflict.

The gap between the rich and the poor grows as long as we fail to signal the social climate of a success story. A Harvard Professor (David Landes) wrote in THE WEALTH AND POVERTY OF NATIONS:

"Poverty is inextricably linked to armed conflict".

Ladies and gentlemen:

Globalisation is restructuring our planet's economic and political arrangements directly affecting humanity on a scale unwitnessed since the Industrial Revolution.

Tremendous changes thunder past with little joint attention by the countries of South Asia.

Our populations are the largest.

The impact on us the greatest.

Yet our voices most feeble.

That could be otherwise were we, the great countries of South Asia, to realise our potential and wrest the control of our destinies into our hands for a better future.

The debate, for our future, yours and mine, and those of our neighbours is raging right now.

This new world, this new century, this new millennium is a strange one. On one side life beckons with the brightest prospects since the dawn of time.

On the other hand, young men fall prey and inflict hell in the hope of going to heaven.

Life is a precious gift, to be lived.

For too long South Asians instead embraced death.

When death becomes beautiful, one can understand how living life has become impossible.

It is for the leaders, the captains of the ships of state as well as of trade, to chart a new course for a new destination.

A destination that gives premium to life which is the most precious gift bestowed by God.

So precious we are told that to kill is the worst of crimes.

Our part of the world too has been teetering on the verge of doom and disaster too often.

We have been at each other's throat.

We have fought four wars.

Troops on both sides continue to fire at each other and we have nuclear bombs too.

A push on the button can end life before we realise what was done in desperation.

We owe it to our children to build a world free of the threat of nuclear annihilation.

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Ladies and gentlemen:

My commitment to the rights of women was inspired by the categorical position taken by Pakistan's founder, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

In his address to the university students in 1944, he said, "No nation can rise to the heights of glory with half its population shackled. It is a crime against humanity that our women are confined within the four walls of their homes like prisoners; they should be side by side with men as their companions in all spheres of life."

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I will end with a quote from Alexander Pope who said:

“What war could ravish, Commerce could bestow, And he returned a friend,
Who was a foe”

Thank you.

Victims of Terrorism

Speech delivered by Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto in the US, December 2002

I am pleased to come before you at the season of the year when Christmas, Eid and Hanukah coincide. Maybe in this week of holidays that celebrate renewal, hope, faith and peace, we can begin to move away from the precipice of disaster that I fear the world finds itself in December of 2002.

I know you are here primarily to learn from my experiences throughout my career that you may be able to apply to your own lives, responsibilities and careers. I intend to address those points.

But these are very special times. These are very dangerous times. These are times of misperceptions and confusion. I want to take part of the time to share with you some thoughts about the extraordinary state of the world.

First let us address the issue of terrorism, Islam and the West. Terrorism and fanaticism will not succeed unless we fall into the psychopaths' trap. Professor Samuel Huntington of Harvard wrote of an inevitable clash of civilization between the West and the Islamic world.

I argue that this clash is far from inevitable, unless we make it so.

There is nothing in the precepts of Islam that make it inconsistent with Judeo-Christian values. In the Holy Book, Abraham is our father, just as Moses and Jesus are our prophets.

There will only be a clash of civilizations if we allow ignorance and fanaticism to take control, to shape the agenda and to shape the debate.

Osama and his men use commercial airliners as bombs against cities and symbols to provoke the clash of cultures under which they will thrive.

I am not unfamiliar with the terrorists of Al Qeda.

I know them well; I know how they operate, how they think and I know what they want.

As Prime Minister of Pakistan, I stood up to them. I battled with many of these same criminals, including Osama Bin Laden himself. I took them on, and often paid a price.

During the Afghan-Soviet war, my country became the breeding ground for their psycho-political religious manipulation and exploitation. Hiding under the cloak of religion, they preached a message that would enslave not liberate, teach children not to write but rather to hate, keep people hopeless and desperate, bitter, xenophobic and paranoid.

I closed their so-called universities. I disarmed their Madrassas, their sham primary schools that do not teach children literature, science or mathematics but rather turn children into fanatics and criminals. I tried to restore law and order to our cities under incessant assault from terrorist attack.

My government tracked down and extradited the terrorists, like Ramzi Youseff, who had exported death and destruction to New York in the 1990s.

They struck back at my allies and me. They destroyed the Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad. They burned our National Assembly, hijacked school buses, gunned down diplomats and businessmen in the streets of Karachi and Lahore, and organized and financed schemes to topple my government.

As a woman, I was their enemy.

As a democrat, I was their opposite. But above all, as someone who offered hope to our people -- education, jobs, communication and modernity -- I was a dangerous obstacle to the forces of hate.

I took them on with my eyes open. I knew they would strike back, just as we expect that these fanatics to try and strike again in America.

Despite the personal and political price I paid over the years, my only regret is that we were unable to destroy them completely, before they rained terror on America.

Peace is often difficult to achieve, and even more difficult to maintain. The words on the Korean War Memorial on Washington's great mall never have rung more true --

"Freedom is not free." .

These terrorists greatest fear is the spread of information, social equality and democracy. These three principles suffocate terrorism.

These three goals guided my years as prime minister. Maybe this could explain the two assassination attempts against me by Al Queda.

My government heralded the information age by introducing fax machines, digital pagers, optic fiber communications, cellular telephones, satellite dishes, computers, Internet, e-mail and even CNN into Pakistan.

Under my government Pakistan integrated into the global economy that the fanatics so fear. We became one of the ten emerging capital markets of the world, attracting billions of dollars in foreign investment, particularly in power generation. We eradicated polio in our country. We dramatically reduced infant mortality.

WHO

Despite the constraints of a political system rigged against democrats, and a social system biased against women, as Prime Minister of Pakistan I used my office to reverse centuries of discrimination against women.

My tenure was a textbook affirmative action program against gender discrimination.

We increased literacy by one-third, even more dramatically among girls.

We built over 30,000 primary and secondary schools, targeting rural Pakistan. Our education program targeting girls and rural areas has been dismantled by the military junta.

We brought down the population growth rate by establishing women's health clinics in thousands of communities across our Nation.

We outlawed domestic violence and established special women's police forces to protect and defend the women of Pakistan.

We appointed women judges to our nation's benches for the first time in our history.

We instituted a new program of hiring women police officers to investigate crimes of domestic violence against the women of Pakistan. That special police force has been dismantled.

I systematically appointed women judges to the courts of the land. That affirmative action program for women in the judiciary has been dismantled.

I condemned, as state police, the honor killing, by members of their own families, of women who had been raped. The military junta is now silent to these abominations.

I condemned and sought to reverse the unspeakable prosecution of women raped and then tried for the crime of adultery, a perversion of justice that affronts the civilized world. The military junta uses this abomination as a means to solidify support among extremists.

I encouraged women's and girl's participation in sports, nationally and internationally by lifting the ban on women's participation in sport. I persuaded the armed forces and security services to hire women in their institutions.

PIA Pilot

I created a special Women's Development Bank to guarantee small business loans to women entrepreneurs, because I firmly believed that economic justice would build political justice. It was a bank run by women for women- although men were allowed to keep their money in it.

Case by case, issue-by-issue, policy-by-policy, the military junta that rules Pakistan with an iron fist undermines policies aimed at ameliorating the role and rights of women in Pakistani society.

The women of Pakistan cannot be expected to struggle alone against the forces of discrimination, exploitation and manipulation.

I recall the words of Dante who reminded us that "the hottest place in Hell is reserved for those who remain neutral in times of moral crisis."

To the fanatics and the extremists, we became the enemy, the threat, and the obstacle. To Islam at the crossroads, a modern Pakistan was one fork in the road, fanaticism and ignorance the other.

Islam is committed to tolerance and equality, and it is committed by Koranic definition to the principles of democracy. The Holy Book says that Islamic society is contingent on -- and I quote -- "mutual advise through mutual discussions on an equal footing."

Sadly, most Muslim countries are dictatorships, contrary to what Islam teaches. The denial of democracy shifts opposition from the political class to the mosque. This play into hands of militants and extremists. They can canvass to a captive audience.

In Islam dictatorship is never condoned, nor is cruelty. Beating, torturing and humiliating women is unIslamic. Denying education to girls violates the very first word of the Holy Book: "Read." According to our religion, those who commit cruel acts are condemned to destruction.

Sometimes tragedy can lead to resurrection of hope and spirit. As America and the civilized world respond to the most terrible terrorist attack in history, we must remember the lessons of history and not repeat the mistakes of the past.

Osama Bin Ladin did not emerge like whole cloth from a nightmare. His depravity was long in the making, and there were errors -- of omission and commission -- that must never be repeated.

Afghanistan is a tragic case in point of how retreating from the principles of human rights and democracy can have the most tragic unanticipated consequences.

In the closing days of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, during a State Visit to America I cautioned that US policy to defeat the Soviets had empowered and emboldened the most fanatical, extremist elements of the Afghan seven-faction Mujahadeen at the expense of the moderates, creating a "Frankenstein" that could come back to haunt us in the future.

The overall policy of standing against Soviet aggression in Afghanistan was right. Yet the early decisions to arm, train, supply and legitimize the most extreme fanatics sowed the seeds for the 21st century terrorism that is now swirling around us.

In America and Pakistan's combined and admirable zeal to end the Soviet occupation, we failed to plan or work for a post-war Afghanistan built on democratic principles of coalition, consensus and cooperation.

The fundamental mistake, which contributed to a long-term historical calamity, was that we were not consistently committed to the values of freedom, democracy, social equality and self-determination that ultimately undermine the basic tenets of terrorism.

Short-term battlefield strategy is often myopic, as the anarchy, civil war and Taliban terror in Afghanistan so painfully proves.

Just as democracies do not make war against other democracies, democracies also do not sponsor international terrorism.

The goal of the international community's foreign policy agenda must always be to simultaneously promote stability and to strengthen democratic values.

Not selectively but universally.

Not when it is convenient but rather because it is right.

General Musharraf made the correct decision to stand with America at this moment of crisis. But the United States and the rest of the world must remember that Pakistan has an extra-constitutional military government with no democratic legitimacy.

Elections that took place were exercises in fraud; a sad charade.

This is tragic, for a democratic Pakistan is America's best guarantee of the triumph of moderation and modernity among one billion Muslims at the crossroads of our history.

The alternative of a long-term nuclear-armed Pakistani dictatorship has consequences that could make September 11th look like a mere prelude to an even more horrific future for the civilized world.

This is not the simple world we dreamed of with the end of the Cold War. And mine is not the simple life I dreamed of growing up in Pakistan and going to school at Harvard and Oxford.

The gauntlet of leadership was thrown down before me. I had no choice but to pick it up. But it has often been very difficult, often very sad.

Leadership is not easy. It is never meant to be easy. It is born of a passion, and it is a commitment -- a commitment to an idea, to principles, to fundamental human values.

It has not always been an easy life for me, or for my family. But this is nothing new, really. Women have always had to make difficult choices, often choices that men are not been forced to make. And we must live with the consequences, for better or worse.

Those of us in positions of responsibility understand this special, unique and extraordinary moment in history. We fight for all the women who came before us who gave us this opportunity. And most of all, we do it for all woman who will come after us -- the baby girls yet unborn!

As a child of my age, in the late sixties, I was influenced by the social ferment around me. The worldwide students movement, from Rawalpindi, to Washington, were important factors in my youth. The fight against apartheid shaped the ferocity of my commitment to stand up for principle. The burgeoning movement for women's rights empowered and emboldened me.

As an Asian at Harvard, I joined up with American students to protest a war that they thought was unjust and did not want to fight.

These important steps helped shape my outlook on life, helped me focus on fighting injustice, promoting freedom and safeguarding the rights of the weak and dispossessed.

But above all, in America during the Watergate crises I saw the awesome power of the people to change policies, change leaders, and change history.

From Harvard I went to Oxford, where the British Politician Enoch Powell was threatening to throw all Asians into the sea.

While I was at Oxford, the Conservative party chose a woman, Margaret Thatcher, as the Leader of Opposition. The idea of the first female British Prime Minister became an intense topic for student discussions.

At Oxford, I was the first female foreigner to be elected as President of the Oxford Union.

The Oxford Union reflects the British Parliament.

It was there that I learned to debate, slowly gaining confidence before an audience.

I had been told that as a foreigner, I could not win the Presidency and should not run.

I had been told that as a woman, I could not win, and should not run. But I did run and did win and overcame my fear of losing. I learned to overcome fear and to take risks. I learned never to give in when the task seemed formidable or impossible.

What has always been clear to me is that the extraordinary educational opportunities I had gave me a range of life and career options denied to most women, and certainly almost all women of the developing world.

My own experiences at Harvard and Oxford made it clear to me that only educational opportunity promotes empowerment for women.

If women are truly to be defined by themselves and their own accomplishments and abilities, they need the level of education that empowers them. Education leads to the kind of financial independence that causes women to break the shackles of being only a man's daughter or a man's wife.

Toba Tek Singh

As the Prime Minister of Pakistan I appeared before an historic Joint Session of the United States Congress in 1989.

In that address, the most meaningful line to me was my simple message to the woman of America, my message to the women of the world. Three simple, powerful words: YES YOU CAN!

I urge women all over the world not to accept the status quo, not to accept "no" for an answer. It is critical that women -- whether in London or Kabul -- refuse to accept traditional roles and traditional constraints.

Acquiescing to a tradition dictated by men -- a tradition of subjugation of mothers and daughters -- can no longer be accepted.

In the West and in the East we must stand up and reject the notion that leadership and femininity are contradictory.

I recall the words of Lady Margaret Thatcher. "When a woman is strong, she is pushy. But when a man is strong...ah...he is a great leader!"

We've made progress; we've smashed many glass ceilings. But there are thousands left to break, many battles left to fight.

The greatest obstacles to progress for women in the third millennium is the bigotry of men, and no where is that bigotry more venal than in the Taliban and the fanatics that have declared war on the civilized world.

We fight against terrorism, and the bigotry and intolerance that will confine and constrain and victimize in the generations ahead.

Victimization of significant elements of society and the concept of long-term peace are mutually exclusive.

The denial of human rights is a bomb that ultimately explodes.

These are difficult times. Freedom is under assault. Democracy is under assault. Criminal terrorists hijack my religion just as they hijack America's planes.

The solutions will not be quick or simple. But if we maintain our commitment to the principles that define us -- the principles of racial, gender and religious equality, the principles of political pluralism and tolerance, and the principle of peaceful change through democracy -- we shall in the end prevail.

In addressing the new exigencies of the new century, we could translate dynamic religion into a living reality. Muslim societies need to learn to live by the true spirit of Islam, not only by its rituals.

Those who are ignorant of Islam, could cast aside their preconceptions about the role of women in our religion.

Contrary to what many believe, Islam embraces a rich variety of political, social and cultural traditions. The fundamental ethos of Islam is tolerance, dialogue and democracy.

Just as in Christianity and Judaism, we must always be on guard for those who use the Muslim Holy Book for their own narrow political ends, who will distort the essence of pluralism and tolerance for their own extremist agendas.

These manipulators, distorters and bigots exist all over the world, but nowhere were they more dangerous and destructive than the last years of the Taliban era in Afghanistan.

And most central to the Taliban perversion was its concept and treatment of women.

For the Taliban, and other extremists throughout the Moslem world, refute the central ethos of Islam which is equality, especially equality between the sexes. I find Islam in its writings, respectful of the role of women in society. It is this tradition of Islam that empowered me, strengthened me, and emboldened me.

It is this tradition of Islam that allowed me my battle for political and human rights. It strengthens me today in this hour of crisis for my family, my nation and myself.

Today in Pakistan, the veil of repression has descended across our people.

The cause of human rights is being set back decades.

But the cause of women's rights, I am sad to say, is being set back a century.

My immediate successor's attempt to turn back the clock on women's rights, on liberal society, on pluralistic democracy focused on me, on destroying me politically at home and destroying my reputation abroad.

We have become accustomed to attempts to use the politics of personal destruction to turn back the course of democracy, human rights and women's rights in our homeland. It didn't work then and it will not work now.

Despite the Musharraf regime's support of the international war against terrorism, this military junta, like its Martial law predecessors of the past, is attempting to use the teaching of Islam as an excuse to subjugate women, deny freedom, destroy a free press, dominate NGOs, break up political parties, decimate the Judiciary, and restore the iron hand of dictatorship to the land.

For me, it is particularly heartbreaking, as the military regime dismantles the array of special programs that I instituted in my two terms as Prime Minister to raise the quality of life of women in Pakistan.

Unfortunately hiding under the aura of international cooperation on terrorism, the current regime in Islamabad continues to terrorize its own women. A world

focused on the destruction of the Al Qaeda network has neither the interest nor the knowledge to investigate the human rights abuses in a “coalition” member.

And thus the causes of women’s rights, human rights, press freedom and democracy fall backwards into the dark chasms of a past era.

Yet I see great progress looming as the forces that shape the new century and the new millennium come together around the world.

It is a confluence of energy committed to universal social, economic and political values -- this triad definition of comprehensive human rights for the future.

It is a confluence of ideology that must shape a world free from exploitation and maltreatment of women, a world in which women have opportunities to rise to the highest level in politics, business, diplomacy, and other spheres of life.

The new century must, for once and for all, exclude even the notion of battered women.

It must be an era where honor and dignity are protected in peace, and in war, where women have economic freedom and independence, where women are not defined by their fathers or husbands, but by their own achievements, where they are equal partners in peace and development.

Even as we catalogue, organize and hopefully attain our goals, step by step by step, all of those around the world who are committed to the common causes of human rights, women’s rights and peace, must be vigilant.

As in Pakistan today, repressive forces always stand ready to exploit the moment and push us back into the past.

It seems that the words of Goethe continue to resonate: “freedom has be re-made and re-earned in every generation.”

Dear Guests,

In the time it took for me to speak to you today, over one thousand children starved to death on this planet.

As long as these basic violations of human rights are allowed to continue, none of us -- regardless of where we live, regardless of how elegant or civilized our life-styles, regardless of our own personal circumstances and comforts -- are free.

My father, Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, was toppled and ultimately murdered by the forces of dictatorship and extremism two decades ago. I recall vividly those dark and tragic days, with my father languishing in a dark prison, living in the most inhumane conditions, with the world helpless to stop his murder.

But he remained courageous to the end, even in the hours before his death.

I want to end this monograph with the words that he ended his last letter to me, quoting Robert F. Kennedy, himself a victim of assassination, commenting on the poetry of Alfred Lord Tennyson. Despite the crisis we live under today, these words set the tone for a new and brighter future.

In 1979, from the horror of his death cell, my father wrote:

“Every generation has a central concern, whether to end war, erase racial injustice, or improve the conditions of working people. The people demand a government that speaks directly and honestly to its citizens. The possibilities are too great, the stakes too high, to bequeath to the coming generation only the prophetic lament of Tennyson -- “Ah, what shall I be at fifty...if I find the world so bitter at twenty.”

If there is anything that I can truly share from my life that applies to yours, it is the classic quote Shakespeare’s Hamlet, “to thine own self be true.”

In politics and business, in art and in the academy, there will always be pressures to do what is convenient, the path of least resistance, what is safe and conservative.

But leadership is not rooted in safety; it rather is a product of boldness.

Do not be timid.

And do not surround yourself with those who are timid.

Don’t do what is necessarily popular, do what is right.

It is sad that modern leaders often take public opinion polls to decide on courses of policy.

Sixty years ago, a truly great leader, American President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, also took polls.

But he didn't take polls to determine what course to follow.

On the contrary, he took polls to find out where the people were so that he would know how to educate them to stand with him to do what was right.

Leaders lead, remember that.

Convince, educate, bring people around to do what is moral, to do what is right, to do what is necessary.

Whether it is in politics or business, don't be afraid to stand out and stand up.

Ladies and gentlemen, go forth and lead. Good luck and Godspeed.

Martyr Shehu Yar Adua Commemoration Day - Nigeria
March 8, 2003

Mr. President,
Mr. Vice President,
Members of the Foundation
Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am privileged to join the 5th National Programme honouring late Shehu Yar'Adua – a great patriot, nationalist and democrat.

Shehu meant different things to different people.

To the President, he was a trusted friend, a tested colleague.

To his people, a Martyr, sacrificing his life for principles.

For Pakistan, a graduate of its prestigious officer cadre trained at Quetta Staff College.

It was at the Quetta Staff College that Martyr Shehu's path indirectly crossed mine through my father. Mr. Shehu met Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, whom he held in admiration, at the Staff College in Quetta.

I was the Prime Minister of Pakistan when President Abacha threatened Shehu's life. I wrote asking for clemency, hoping to save the life of a man who was his

peoples hope. I knew that the execution of a political leader breeds political turmoil.

Mr. President and Distinguished Guests,

The clemency appeals fell on deaf ears. The rest is a gory chapter in Nigeria's history.

As I took pen in hand to write against the execution of Nigeria's great son, my thoughts turned to Turkey. As Pakistan's Foreign Minister my father had urged Turkey's military rulers to spare President Adnan Menderes's life to save Turkey from a blood stained history. But the General went ahead-- condemning himself forever in the eyes of unborn generations.

So, too, in Pakistan when military dictator General Ziaul Haq executed Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Pakistani society has still to recover from an assassination that divided a nation and plunged it into turmoil.

Humanity condemns killers. Thus victims join the celestial skies like stars burning bright inspiring coming generations to the heights of heroism.

Shehu Yar'Adua was in Pakistan during the tragic days following its disintegration in 1971.

His stay in Pakistan gave him an insight into its history and its politics.

He realized the price paid for a politicized military that undermined the human and political rights of its own downtrodden people.

Pakistan's founder Muhammad Ali Jinnah warned against tribalism, ethnicity, parochialism, sectarianism, religious bigotry and corruption. These are the ills that haunt non democratic countries since the battle against colonialism was won.

Mr Jinnah separated interpretation of religion from the business of the state. His dream was of a modern, democratic Pakistan built on the edifice of a Federalist structure on the pattern of the United States of America. This echoed Nigerian's dream of becoming Africa's "Showcase for Democracy".

Distinguished Guests,

Pakistan's Founder died before his dream became reality. Military interventions followed his death opening the floodgates of religious bigotry, sectarianism,

ethnicity, tribalism and corruption. Pakistan appeared on a never-ending roller coaster ride between democracy and military dictatorship.

Political leaders were targeted for character assassination. Murder, treason, crime were the lot of popular leaders targeted for elimination.

The aim was to discredit political leaders and the political process so that dictatorship could replace democracy.

My father Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took politics out of the drawing rooms of the rich and powerful into the huts of the poor. His Pakistan People's Party empowered the masses, ushering in socio-economic changes with far-reaching consequences.

Reflecting reforms in Africa, Asia and Latin America, he opposed the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of cartels, tribal leaders, the mandarins of bureaucracy and self styled religious leaders who exploited the people.

Distinguished Guests:

I learnt from my father that democracy and development go together, that human dignity and social emancipation go hand in hand.

The great Nigerian intellectual Chinua Achebe in his book "The Trouble With Nigeria" wrote: "On the morning after Murtala Muhammad seized power in July 1975 public servants were found "on seat" at seven-thirty in the morning. Even the "go-slow" traffic that had... defied every regime vanished overnight from the streets!"

Then he added:

"...alas, that transformation was short-lived... in order to effect lasting change it must be followed up with a ... consistent agenda of reform..."

Distinguished Guests,

British Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill, amongst other great leaders, believed that democracy—with all its faults —is the best system for human management.

Tellingly, the advanced and powerful Nations of today are democracies.

Excellencies and Distinguished Guests,

Pakistan is an example of the tragic consequences of dictatorship. The use of the religious card by military rulers produced sectarian strife. The divide between different schools in Islam created fissures.

Doctrinal differences took on a dangerous character during the military era of the eighties.

Arms flooded into the country following Pakistan's emergence as a 'frontline' state during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

Small arms and heroin proliferated in Pakistani society.

Secondly, a number of religious schools were established to recruit and train young man from the Muslim world to fight the Soviet super-power in Afghanistan. No one dreamt then that one day some of them would take on the other super-power. By 1997 there were 2,500 religious schools in the province of Punjab alone (compared to 137 at independence).

A number of the religious schools taught intolerance between sects and between religions. Products of these schools were without skills relevant to the job market.

Trained to fight wars and reject politics and elections, they looked for a messiah to give meaning to their lives.

Osama Bin Laden, preaching war against the Infidels, appealed to them.

They pegged their militant skills to outstanding political disputes in the Muslim community creating a network of militias that changed the world since the bombing of the World Trade Centers on September 11, 2001.

Distinguished Guests,

In this the twenty-first century, and the third millennium, pluralism and tolerance are threatened by culture of violence that alters the way we live.

Fear replaces safety and conflict replaces peace as the terrorist assault unfolds the contours of a post bi-polar world.

Discord and violence have become the order of the day.

In this grim scenario, the future looks bleak, unless federalism and freedom are restored. These are the twin pillars that can built a culture of tolerance, accommodation and co-existence. Education with economic and political empowerment is the vital way forward as we witness the rise of religious margins in the Muslim, Jewish, Christian and Hindu civilizations.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Collapse of the Soviet Union ended the Cold War bringing new dreams, hopes and aspirations of a world peaceful and prosperous.

With a heavy heart I say to you that

The era of peace for which we prayed, became a time of war.

Tolerance was replaced by terrorism.

Dictatorship replaced democracy in too many countries.

Violent fanaticism replaced religious moderation.

As the war against terrorism enters a new phase, I urge Non-Muslims to know those who use violence and terror in the name of Islam.

Their actions contradict the teachings of Islam.

Islam is committed to tolerance and equality, and it is committed to the principles of democracy.

The image of Muslim people is hurting because too many Muslims are living in dictatorships. Muslims are hurting because in many Muslim countries, contrary to Islam, women are discriminated against in every aspect of life.

We spend so much on armies and weapons. We spend too little on our children who lack education.

We run economies on cronyism, nepotism, abuse of power and corruption killing the spirit of entrepreneurship in our countries. Our businessmen and women find it hard to freely compete.

In many Muslim countries, contrary to Islam, justice is dead. We live in societies where judges are bribed or terrorised.

Our human rights activists are ignored.

Our political parties are targets of state sponsored terrorism.

Popular political leaders are persecuted living as prisoners or exiles.

The voice of our people is silenced through rigged elections.

The authoritarian powers of the state are destroying the Muslim people and Muslim society.

Unless we break force of these authoritarian powers, our future is in the chains of ignorance, intolerance and dictatorship.

The religious parties call for religious dictatorship to replace existing authoritarian governments. They ignore the key concepts in Islam which develop democracy. These include the principles of consultation or shura, consensus known or ijma and independent judgment or ijtihaad.

Ironically Islam brought democracy to the world long before any western country. Yet today democracy is the prerogative of the West.

Professor Samuel Huntington of Harvard University predicted a clash of civilization between the West and the Islamic world.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

This clash threatens to eclipse our future unless we avert it.

Islam is part of the Judeo-Christian heritage. We are all ahle Kitaab or People of the Book. The Prophet Abraham is our father. Moses and Jesus are our prophets. We are united in a consensus of monotheism.

The word "Muslim" actually includes the followers of the Prophets Moses, Jesus and Mohammad (Peace be Upon Him).

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Suddenly Muslim countries are caught in the eye of the storm. It seems the world has tumbled out of a time when Communism was the threat, the fear, and the bloc that was to be contained. Now Islam and the Muslim Nations could replace Communism as the new threat, the new fear and the new world that is to be contained.

Much was written of how the World Trade Centre impacted on the West. Little stock was taken of how it shook the Muslim world.

Ordinary Muslims live in fear of another terrorist attack on the West and the repercussions it could bring for Muslim people and Muslim countries.

After the victims of the World Trade Center and their families, Muslims are the most victimized community. This is why many Muslims find it hard to believe that any Muslim could be so myopic as to cause grievous harm to the Muslim community through the senseless attack on the World Trade Centers.

Muslim political problems are for the time being shelved. The ongoing violence in the Middle East, the killing in Kashmir, the civil war in Chechnya are ignored by a world unable to distinguish between Terrorism and Occupation.

In the face of the awesome military and political power of the West, and the helplessness most Muslims feel as bombs threaten to kill fellow Muslims, Osama and his men could re-emerge to haunt the world community.

Defeated and disgraced after the fall of Kabul, Al-Qaeda is now trying to peg their claim to fame on the slogan that Islam and the Muslims face a new crusade. If their call is heeded to, we could witness the dawn of a new asymmetrical battle that stains the world stage with blood, violence, death and destruction.

The course of sanity, the cause of world peace lies in Democracy and Human Rights. It lies in Justice and the Rule of Law. It lies in the emancipation of the people of the Third World from poverty, exploitation and hunger.

Under the PPP government Pakistan integrated into the global economy bringing prosperity to its people.

- We became one of the ten emerging capital markets of the world, attracting billions of dollars in foreign investment, particularly in power generation.
- We eradicated polio in our country. We reduced infant mortality. We increased literacy by one-third building tens of thousands of primary and secondary schools.
- We established a Women's Bank, run by women for women giving credit to women.
- We brought down the population growth rate even as we tripled the economic productivity rate.

- We outlawed domestic violence by establishing special women's police even as we doubled national revenues.

It was a remarkable transformation of a society. It was a transformation that our underprivileged wanted.

It was a transformation that demonstrated the strength of a Muslim society based on Democracy and Human Dignity.

It was a transformation that was bringing Pakistan into the modern era as a model to one billion Muslims of what moderate, enlightened Islam could achieve for its people.

And thus to the terrorists and their sympathizers, we became the enemy that was to be destroyed. We threatened the rise of the Taliban state in Afghanistan without which Al Qaeda could not operate. And so democracy in Pakistan was killed.

To kill democracy in Pakistan, the Prime Minister's brother was shot outside their childhood home.

With the eclipse of the democratic government, the Taliban seized Kabul and invited in Al- Qaeda. Without the check of good advice from neighbourly Pakistan, Osama Bin Laden declared war on America in 1998.

Three years later, the mighty towers of the World Trade Center collapsed as suicide bombers flew Boeing jets into them. The world changed dramatically after what can only be described as a second Pearl Harbour. A Pearl Harbour that bombed the inter cultural, inter religious harmony so essential to prevent the Clash of Civilizations.

Without modernization and moderation, it is challenging for Non-Muslims to distinguish between religion and terrorism which Muslims understand by faith and instinct.

An historical mistake was made following the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1989. As a world community, we failed to plan for a post-war Afghanistan built on democratic principles of coalition, consensus and human rights.

Once the Soviets withdraw from Afghanistan , tribalism, ethnicity and sectarianism came to the fore. As tribalism, ethnicity and sectarianism rose, the

hopes of a democratic order built on a broad based government of consensus collapsed.

Now, in the shadow of Kabul, Islamabad's military rulers are making the same mistake as the Afghans did. Last October's elections were a mockery of justice and fair play. The leaders of Pakistan's major political parties were banned from contesting and campaigning. After the polling closed, the results were stopped for hours and days. Turnout, estimated at 20%, doubled, tripled and in some cases exceeded 100%.

Rigged elections can give the label of democracy but they are unable to give the strength of democracy, a strength that comes from a consensus forged by public opinion.

Now the religious parties control the states bordering Afghanistan. Next they might control more of Pakistan. Islam's second largest Muslim country, Pakistan, is today threatened with a religious uprising in the absence of democracy.

Dictatorship doesn't modernize Nations. Dictatorship creates extremists. A democratic political structure in Afghanistan could have marginalized the Taliban and Al-Qaeda before they declared war on the West. It is democracy and democracy alone that can create modern, moderate and tolerant Muslim societies that can co-exist in peace and stability.

The greatest protection of freedom from terrorists and conflicts is replacing dictatorships with governments responsible to the people, governments based on the values of tolerance and accommodation.

Shehu Yar Adua gave his life so Nigerians could live in freedom. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto gave his life so Pakistanis could live in freedom.

Legendary leaders gave their lives, braving prison cells and death by hanging to keep alive for their people, their continents and civilizations the dream of Freedom.

Shehu Yar Adua was one such leader.

He lives in our hearts and minds. His name glows in the golden pages of history as a leader who beckoned his people to a brighter future than the darkness of Tyranny.

With his Martyrdom, the torch has passed to the coming generation.

It is my hope and prayer that we may live up to the glorious traditions of the men who died so that we could live in dignity, democracy and opportunity.

Thank you, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Democracy and Internationalism: Post Iraq
The World Political Forum - Turin, Italy
Address by Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto
May 19, 2003

With Iraq divided into American, British and Polish controlled zones, we gather together in Turin at an extraordinary and difficult time. Whatever our own views on the path leading to the recent Iraq War, it is time to look forward.

It is time to assess the new world reality.

The post Iraq international situation gives an opportunity to look for ways to promote the cause of democratization, human rights and the global community to which we are all committed.

Many in the international community felt uncomfortable with a war without United Nations sanction.

Demonstrations for peace broke out in the heart of Europe, at times larger than demonstrations within the Muslim world.

No one likes war.

No one likes Repression either.

Western societies absorb dissent.

Non-Western societies are yet to deal with the challenge of those victimized, persecuted, imprisoned, tortured and exiled because of their political views.

This community of the disaffected and the disenfranchised played a pivotal role both in Afghanistan and Iraq.

In Kabul and Baghdad, popular voices of the people were denied political space. They formed the political front for a war to reclaim their own land.

Countries descend into the darkness of international terrorism and state terrorism when pluralism is disrupted, when diversity is suppressed, when one man directs the destiny of millions be it a Mullah Omar or Saddam Hussain or other dictators.

America's President George Bush justified war claiming:

"Men and women in every culture need liberty like they need food and water and air. Everywhere that freedom arrives, humanity rejoices; and everywhere that freedom stirs, let tyrants fear."

Post Iraq, tyrants should fear.

It is troubling that some of those tyrants still feel little fear. Sadly, some of them are still close allies of Washington. In the case of Pakistan, a repressive regime exiles the popular opposition, imprisons dissidents and rigs elections.

In the post Iraq world that dawned this April, the words rationalising the Iraq war can be used to press all nations, and especially Washington, to make consistent application of democratic principles the essence of internationalism in this new millennium.

There were moments in recent history where historic moments were squandered.

When the moving finger of history writes of the end of the 20th century, it will write of the international community's failure to reinforce the democratic breakthrough that the end of communism brought as the era's greatest missed opportunities.

I recall speaking to European Parliaments, to the Congress of the United States proclaiming that the era of the dictator was over, that militaries all over the world had finally returned to their barracks, that democracy was blooming on every continent.

In retrospect, I fear it was merely a mirage. The forces of real politic were waiting to collide with the ideology of democracy.

We proclaimed a new moral era, but actually constructed an era of moral relativity. And ladies and gentlemen, selective morality is by its very definition, immoral.

Our standards are inconsistent and our policies selective. Those that decry dictatorship in Burma are silent about tyranny elsewhere. Those decrying

dictatorship in Iraq, stay close to dictators in Pakistan. Many in this room rightfully demand self-determination in Palestine, but are less vocal about the rights of the Kashmiri people.

In this age of moral relativism, political standards vary according to political expediency and economic imperatives. Democracy for Iraq, but dictatorship just miles away. Iraqi violations of UN resolutions bring a strong response. Violations of UN resolutions in the Middle East or in South Asia draw a less vocal reaction.

We evaluate national security by hardened borders and tanks and missiles. But true security is linked to the fight for economic justice that will liberate nations; true security is linked to the fight against famine and AIDs; true security means protecting the environment from pollution and desecration.

No matter how great and powerful a nation may be, true leadership is more than military action. It is leading the fight against AIDS, against hunger, against poverty, against racism, and for women, the fight for justice.

Ladies and gentlemen, the post Iraq world situation allows us to focus once again on the principle of freedom. This time it must be more than rhetoric that is exploited in pursuit of limited, foreign policy objectives.

I remember a time when the world walked from Afghanistan after the defeat of the Soviets in 1989.

The fundamental mistake was that we were not consistently committed to the values of freedom, democracy and self-determination that ultimately undermine terrorism. The result was Taliban dictatorship, Al-Qaeda and terrorism.

Dictatorship doesn't constrain fundamentalism or terrorism. It provokes it. The goal of rational foreign policy must always be to simultaneously promote stability and to strengthen democratic values.

The stakes are high. Every war in the South Asian subcontinent from where I come started when my country was under a military dictator or one of its civilian surrogates.

I do not know of a single case when a democratic country has gone to war against another democratic country.

Dictators are not accountable and do not need a popular mandate behind their policies.

The tragedy of Iraq is that Saddam Hussain spurned all offers of a peaceful transition from his regime to a democratic one. None dared tell him that he could not win a military war against American technology.

None dared criticise his flawed strategy of a prolonged guerrilla conflict with house to house fighting in Iraq's cities to force Washington into a ceasefire while he remained in control.

Dictators are cut off from reality by sycophants too scared to tell them the truth allowing for miscalculations that innocent people pay for in lives.

Democracies are different. Democratic leaders are accountable before the Parliament, the Press and the People. Democratic governments must provide for the public welfare, must provide schools and hospitals, health and housing. Dictatorships need not. They rely on unaccountable secret services and are free to divert resources to schemes that parliamentary scrutiny simply would not permit.

History has taught us the very hard lesson that when democratic states turn against democracy, they turn against themselves.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The international press has speculated about Islamabad's support to North Korea's nuclear program. Islamabad denies the charges.

Even though Islamabad is a key ally of the US in the war against terrorism, Pakistani citizens are finger printed and photographed when they visit America.

Military dictator General Musharaf promised the world community he would seal the borders with Afghanistan to prevent fleeing Al Qaeda from slipping into Pakistan. Yet scores made their way into the country as the recent arrests by the FBI demonstrate.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I believe a democratic Pakistan is the best guarantee of respect and dignity for the people of Pakistan. I believe that a democratic Pakistan living by the rule of law within and without is the best guarantee of the triumph of moderation and modernity amongst one billion Muslims at the crossroads of our history.

These are difficult times. We stand at the crossroads of a new world order. We witness the dawn of a uni polar world environment where wars can take place with the coalition of the willing. We witness disunity in the United Nations Security Council, in NATO, in Europe and in the Muslim world.

We can remember that the future is in our hands. As the European philosopher Goethe once wrote, "Freedom must be reinvented in every generation."

Unipolarism can lead to unilateralism. As power shifts to new paradigms the challenge is to find ways where the voices of the rest of the world community can also be heard effectively.

This is our turn to reinvent freedom.

And we shall prevail.

Thank you ladies and gentlemen.

**Socialist International Building Democracy in Iraq
Working for Peace in the Middle East
Civil Society and Women's Participation in the Political Process
Rome, Italy - July 18, 2003**

Mr. Secretary General,

Distinguish Delegates,

The prerequisites for a democratic society is to hold transparent elections installing governments responsive and accountable to the people. For such a society it is necessary to have in place:

An independent judiciary ensuring the rule of law.

- An uncensored media open to all points of view.
- Participation by all members of society, regulated only by age and citizenship.
- Organized political parties that can contest elections and govern democratically.

The final building blocks of liberty are non-governmental organizations -- NGOs -- groups that articulate the interests of the polity and create a civil society.

Civil society organizations are vital to promoting democratic development in any country and especially in semi-authoritarian states and pseudo-democracies. Building non-partisan civil society watchdogs in such countries is essential to democratic reform.

This is particularly true when the population distrusts government in conducting a clean electoral process. It is more apparent in Iraq, where an occupational authority with limited support will supervise elections.

The efforts of nonpartisan election monitoring groups in countries around the globe mobilized thousands of citizens, particularly youth and women, to hold governments and political contestants accountable to the law and the public trust.

This is important in a country like Iraq where political freedom can result in a surge of support for religious groups seeking to replace one dictatorship with another.

Institutions in Iraq, built around a single party dominated by a single family, collapsed creating a political vacuum.

It is this space that civil society must fill to prevent the rise of extremist groups and create a pluralistic order.

Women suffered tremendously during the years of tyranny and sanctions.

Narratives by women in conflict situations contain heart-rending accounts of survival strategies in times of catastrophe and war.

As a woman leader from the Muslim world I believe that participation of Iraqi woman in civil society, the interim administration and local government is essential to the emergence of modern, democratic, pluralistic and tolerant Iraq.

The nature of Iraqi society that emerges from dictatorship and occupation transiting to democracy is contingent on the encouragement given to and the involvement of women in leadership roles.

The basis for civil society can be grounded in international rules expressed in the Beijing process and in the convention for the elimination of discrimination against women.

The political interruption in Iraq provides a unique opportunity to negotiate the empowerment of women.

With civil society taking on a global character, local and international initiatives can be woven together to provide new opportunities for women's participation in decision making.

- To me, women are not just the building blocs of the family;
- They are the building blocs of society.
- They are responsible for the family's household budget.
- They bear most of the responsibility of child raising.
- They are more sensitive to social issues like education and health.

They -- far more than their husbands and brothers -- are cautious about committing the lives of their children to war.

Women are the principal educators, not just of literacy but also of morality.

And once mobilized, once organized, once unleashed, the power of women to change their societies can never again be contained.

For 35 years the building blocs of civil and political society in Iraq were frozen. Now the international community needs to nurture them because:

Before there can be democratic elections, there must be liberty.

To have liberty, people must enjoy the right to freely associate and organize around common interests and common issues.

Women can and should be at the vanguard of the creation of a civil society that, in turn, can lead to viable political parties, free and fair democratic elections, and transparent government.

The move from civil society to democratic society was the pattern around the world. This was true in Europe and the Americas. I pray it will be true in Pakistan and Burma.

And I suggest today, at this forum, that it could be the model by which Iraq transitions from dictatorship to democracy.

Irrespective of our opposition or support for the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq, the rationale for that war can be used to press the case for democracy as the cornerstone of international foreign policy. In defending his policy, President George Bush said,

“Men and women in every culture need liberty like they need food and water and air. Everywhere that freedom arrives, humanity rejoices; and everywhere that freedom stirs, let tyrants fear.”

We can use those words to press all nations, and especially the United States, to consistently support democracy as the essence of internationalism in this new millennium.

There were other times in history -- when we squandered precious moments. The failure of the international community to reinforce the democratic breakthrough after the end of communism is one of the era's tragic missed opportunities.

At a moment of unprecedented political and social opportunity, at the real birth of globalism, many nations turned inward.

At a moment of extraordinary economic expansion, prosperous nations turned their backs on nations where families live on less than a dollar a day.

But the most painful failure, for me and my nation Pakistan, is that the political gains on all continents witnessed during the last decade of the second millennium were all too often allowed to shrivel away.

We cannot let that happen at this extraordinary moment of opportunity in Iraq.

If freedom and democracy prevail in Iraq, it signals hope, for the Middle East for Pakistan, Burma and other countries of the world where tyranny raises its ugly head.

If freedom and democracy are allowed to disintegrate, as unfortunately they did under the military dictatorship of Pakistan, the consequences to the world could be devastating.

This is, of course, a difficult time for the people of Iraq.

The stakes -- both of success and failure -- are enormous.

At this precious time, I recall the words of Goethe: He said:
“Freedom must be reinvented in every generation.”

This is the time for the people of Iraq to reinvent freedom.
This is the time for all the people of the world to help Iraqis reinvent freedom.
This is their time. This is our time. Let us, together, embrace it.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Jashan-e-Azadi Function
Savirya Foundation
London - 16 August 2003

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a pleasure for me to be in Dewsbury at the invitation of the Savirya Foundation. I congratulate Savirya Foundation under Syeda Hussain for the excellent work it is doing in supporting women and children in Pakistan and Kashmir.

I am asked to share my experiences as a woman elected to a leadership position in a traditional Muslim society.

I want you to know that the gauntlet of leadership was thrown down before me. I had no choice but to pick it up. Leadership is not easy. The road to leadership can be difficult and sad.

Leadership is born of a passion, and it is a commitment. A commitment to an idea, to a people, to a land.

I travel, never knowing when I will see my husband again. He was arrested the night my government was overthrown in November 1996 seven years ago. I miss my children. They are all under fourteen. It is difficult explaining to little children why their mother can't be with them, why their father is a political prisoner.

I am reconciled to the fact that the needs of my 150 million people come first, and will always come first.

Women have to make difficult choices, often choices that men are not forced to make. But we do it for all the women who came before us who gave us this opportunity. And most of all, we do it for all woman who will come after us -- the baby girls yet unborn!

I am asked often why I continue on a journey that is difficult and painful. I do so out of the belief that my leadership changed much, and can change more, for my country and for those denied the right of choice. I do it because I must, this is my life, and this is my mission.

I was brought up in a political family. In a way, I was groomed for politics. Yet, a political role was not one that I actively sought. It came to me through an accident of fate.

I had just completed my education and returned to Pakistan in 1977 when the tanks rumbled up the road in Rawalpindi and troops took over the Prime Minister's House. I was pulled into the political campaign by the arrest of senior party leaders.

My father was arrested, released, re-arrested, and, finally hanged. Two of my brothers were killed . Together my family has spent 25 years behind prison bars.

The military coup of 1977 put an end to my career goal to join the Foreign Service in Pakistan and become High Commissioner to England a country I had studied in and knew well.

Fate took over my life and my destiny was no longer in my hands.

As a child of my age, in the late sixties, I was influenced by the social ferment around me. The worldwide students movement, from Rawalpindi, to Washington, were important factors in my youth.

The fight against apartheid shaped the ferocity of my commitment to stand up for principle.

The burgeoning movement for women's rights empowered and emboldened me.

As an Asian I protested the Vietnam war, a war that shook the world in the sixties.

These important steps helped shape my outlook on life, helped me focus on fighting injustice, promoting freedom and safeguarding the rights of the weak and dispossessed.

But above all, as a student in the west, where there are free elections, I saw the awesome power of the people changing policies, changing leaders, and changing history.

I came to Oxford at a time when the British politician, Enoch Powell, was threatening to throw all Asians into the sea.

While I was at Oxford, the Conservative party chose a woman, Margaret Thatcher, as the Leader of Opposition. The idea of the first female British Prime Minister became a topic for student discussions.

It was a thrilling moment for me, as a student, when Mrs. Thatcher, then leader of opposition, invited me to the House of Commons for tea. I entered the oldest Parliament in the world. I walked on flag stones that could tell a thousand tales of Kings, Queens and ordinary Mortals that walked on those same steps for centuries.

At Oxford, I was the first female foreigner to be elected as President of the Oxford Union.

The Oxford Union reflects the British Parliament. It was there that I learned to debate, slowly gaining confidence before an audience. And while I took part in debates, I was surrounded by statues of British Prime Minister from Gladstone who has been President of the Oxford Union.

I had been told that as a foreigner, I could not win the Presidency and should not run.

I had been told that as a woman, I could not win, and should not run.

But I did run and did win and overcame my fear of losing. I learned to overcome fear and to take risks. I learned never to give in when the task seemed formidable or impossible.

I had been told that as a woman I could never be elected Prime Minister in a Muslim country.

I had been told that, at 35, I was too young to run for the premiership.

But I had learnt to overcome my fear of losing.

I did run.

I did win.

I won because I refused to take "No" for an answer.

And that's my message to young people here tonight.

Don't take "No" for an answer.

Don't be disappointed with a setback. Don't let the obstacles stand in your way.

As the Prime Minister of Pakistan I appeared before an historic Joint Session of the United States Congress in 1989. In that address, the most meaningful line to me was my simple message to the woman of America, my message to the women of the world. Three simple, powerful words: YES YOU CAN!

Yes, you can achieve any goal you want to reach, if you don't accept the status quo. Don't accept traditional roles and traditional constraints.

Women have made progress since I went to University. We smashed many glass ceilings. But there are thousands left to break, many battles left to fight.

Sadly, the greatest obstacles to progress for women in the third millennium is the bigotry of some men, and no where is that bigotry more difficult than in the Taliban and the fanatics that ruled in Afghanistan. Women fight on several fronts.

We fight against terrorism. We fight against dictatorship and intolerance. We are threatened with a clash of civilizations.

These are difficult times. Freedom is under assault. Democracy is under assault.

The solutions will not be quick or simple. But we shall prevail.

In my father's last letter to me before he was murdered by one of Pakistan's earlier military tyrants, he quoted Tennyson:

"Ah, what shall I be at fifty if I find the world so bitter at twenty."

So be strong but do not be bitter.

I remember the words of a President, George Washington who said:

"May the children of the stock of Abraham who dwell in this land continue to merit and enjoy the goodwill of the other inhabitants- while every one shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree and there shall be none to make him afraid".

These words spoken centuries ago ring so true now.

Today there is terror, war, death destruction and fear.

I dream of a world where we can live in peace a world with out violence.

That's what I dream of – a world free of fear a world at peace.

I believe women have an important role to play in building a world free from fear.

To me, women are not just the building blocs of the family; they are the building blocs of society.

They are responsible for the family's household budget.

They bear most of the responsibility of child raising.

They are more sensitive to social issues like education and health.

They -- far more than their husbands and brothers -- are cautious about committing the lives of their children to war.

Women are the principal educators, not just of literacy but also of morality.

And once mobilized, once organized, once unleashed, the power of women to change their societies can never again be contained.

This is an age around the world where thousands of citizens, especially youth and women, can hold governments accountable to law and public trust.

This is an age of civic groups and civil society.

Savirya Foundation is a civic group. It has a role to play. I wish it well in playing that role and am delighted to have had this opportunity to share Jashan-e-Azadi with you.

I wish you all success, happiness and Jashan-e-Azadi Mubark.

Message to Youth
London - August 23, 2003

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The world is a very different place from what we dreamed in those wonderful moments when the Berlin Wall fell and the Cold war ended.

The era of peace for which we prayed, became a time of war.

Civility was replaced with brutality.

Tolerance was replaced by terrorism.

Democracy in Pakistan was replaced by dictatorship.

Violent fanaticism replaced religious moderation.

The execution of Wall Street Journal Bureau Chief Daniel Pearl in Pakistan underscored the treacherous nature of this terrorist war. The reality of suicide bombings has struck our homeland—Christian churches, urban hotels; foreign diplomatic missions are all targets. And now the allied presence in Iraq adds a new factor to the politics of the Middle East.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It grieves me that included in the list of victims of the World Trade Tower Bombings is the image of Islam across the world. Our religion is not what these people preach. Islam is committed to tolerance and equality, and it is committed to the principles of democracy.

Despite the strong commitment to democracy, most Muslims today are living in dictatorships. The Muslim people want freedom just as the people of the Communist world wanted freedom.

Islam was the first religion to emancipate women.

Yet a vast majority of Muslim women are discriminated against in different aspects of their lives.

Islam asked us to read, to seek knowledge and develop rational thought.

Yet I see a vast majority of Muslim students denied knowledge, denied literacy, denied access to centers of excellence.

Islam is a religion born in the heart of the trading world in the sixth century. The Holy Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) worked for and married Bibi Khadija who was a business woman.

Yet Muslim societies often rely on patronage, nepotism and lack of transparency in business, which suffocates the entrepreneurial skills of our people.

Islam is a message of Adl and Insaf. But Adl and Insaf are sacrificed at the alter of lust for power.

Islam is about human dignity.

But we see Muslims suffer indignities because dictatorship divides us and suppresses our own people.

Islam is a religion which declares the equality of all men and women. We see this equality trampled as political leaders are exiled or imprisoned. Muslim societies are facing a challenge.

Those who want to see Muslims suppressed and oppressed support dictatorship and one party rule. They want to see the future in the chains of the powers of ignorance, intolerance and dictatorship.

Today there is anger in the Muslim world. Muslims are dying in Kashmir, in Chechnya, in Palestine and other parts of the world. I want you to turn anger into motivation. I want you to fight for freedom, for democracy, for human rights so that Muslims can hold up their heads with honour and dignity.

The Youth of today know that Islam emphasizes the principles of consultation known as shura, consensus known as ijma and independent judgment known as ijtihaad.

The Holy Koran makes it clear that the workings of the democratic process—consultation between the government and the people through elected representatives and accountability of leaders to the people they serve through fair elections are at the heart of Islam.

Those who preach dictatorship, one party rule, rig elections, blackmail politicians, pressure judges benefit themselves by grabbing commercial, agricultural and residential plots undermine Muslim societies and darken the future of the Muslim youth. They are the enemies of humanity. While enriching themselves they impoverish the working classes the middle classes, the farmers and the labourers.

In the end, they will be defeated.

Whosoever indulges in cruelty gets a befitting response. Ayub Khan was thrown out by his subordinate. Yahya Khan was thrown out by his subordinate. Both President Ishaq and Prime Minister Nawaz had to go due to their subordinate in 1993. Farooq Leghari was also thrown out by the Prime Minister he had brought to power.

When people are unhappy and disgruntled, it acts as a catalyst to bring change. The cruelest of dictators go and this dictatorship will go too.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

September 11 will go down in history as a defining moment in our civilization. The attack on the World Trade Towers was a second Pearl Harbor that ended one period in time and heralded the beginning of another.

On that fateful day, the world tumbled out of a time when Communism was the threat, the fear, the bloc that was to be contained. The world tumbled into a different period when Islam and the Muslim Nations seemingly replaced Communism as the new threat, the new fear and the new world that was to be contained.

Since the world shook with the shock of the attack on the World Trade Centers, much has changed. Civil liberties suffered a set back. Many Muslims in the West live in fear of prejudice suspicion and discrimination. They face hate crimes. It is difficult to get student visas and even tourist visas. Moreover, now people can be arrested and kept with out trial for long periods.

The World Trade Center attacks have shaken the Muslim world. Since that fateful day, both Afghanistan and Iraq have foreign troops on their soil. There is speculation on which Muslim country will be next for regime changes.

The Muslim world is in an inertia. A hyper power invincible. It need not be so.

A greater understanding is needed between the Muslim world and the West. Politics does not know a vacuum and the political pendulum swings from side to side.

America, British and Europe are open societies. Muslims need to come out of the inertia and use the open-ness of the democratic systems to build a world of greater understanding.

To do so, we need to be democrats. We need to shun sectarianism, terrorism, ethnic violence and political prejudice.

And we can do it if we follow the path of Quad-e-Azam and Quad-e-Awam. These great leaders of our nation taught us the politics of Federalism, Democracy, Constitutional protection, rule of law, equality and emancipation of the people from backwardness and poverty.

The youth of today, better educated, better equipped with computer technology at its fingertips is best placed to reject dictatorship and fight for democracy to save Pakistan and our coming generations from fratricide, civil war, violence, bomb blasts and suicide bombing.

It is shocking that worshipers in Quetta were killed in a mosque. Young Police officers in training were killed. The foreign Minister says militants are non state actors out of state control.

If militants groups are out of control, it reflects poorly on a military ruler with an army to command.

The writ of the state can be restored.

The PPP Government ended the Army operation in Karachi. It restored law and order across the country. It closed the Islamic University in Peshawar to prevent Al-Qaeda Politics from underling internal security. It cracked down on sectarianism in the Punjab.

I may be a lady but there was security for ordinary citizens when PPP was in government. Now a military leader with full force can not control the situation.

Democracy and Development go hand in hand.

The records of the PPP government prove this.

PPP government was overthrown because PPP government is a symbol of a strong, stable secure Pakistan which also happens to be a nuclear power. Tin pot military dictators preside over weak and dependent states because dictatorship kills the soul of a Nation.

When I was Prime Minister, the PPP heralded the information age by introducing fax machines, digital pagers, optic fiber communications, cellular telephones, satellite dishes, computers, Internet, e-mail and even CNN and Fox into Pakistan. Before that Pakistan had to wait 20 years to get a telephone connection.

Under the PPP government Pakistan integrated into the global economy providing jobs for its youth. We became one of the ten emerging capital markets of the world, attracting billions of dollars in foreign investment, particularly in power generation.

We eradicated polio in our country. We dramatically reduced infant mortality. We increased literacy by one-third. We built over 48,000 primary and secondary schools in two terms targeting rural Pakistan.

Women's Bank.

The World Bank called our energy program a model to the entire developing world.

WHO gold medal.

It was a remarkable transformation of a society. It was a transformation that our underprivileged wanted.

It was a transformation that attacked ignorance and illiteracy and injustice. It was a transformation that was bringing Pakistan into the modern era as a model to more than one billion Muslims around the world of what moderate, enlightened Islam could accomplish for its people.

And thus to the fanatics and the extremists, we became the enemy, the threat, and the obstacle. To at the crossroads, a democratic Pakistan was one fork in the road, dictatorship the other.

With the eclipse of my government, the Taliban seized Kabul and imposed their will across Afghanistan. They invited in Al-Qaeda declared war on America and the rest is history.

If the PPP government had remained in Power, no-one would have died in World Trade Center attacks, in the retaliatory war against Afghanistan. Nor would the definition of terrorism have changed to the detriment of the Palestinians. People of Iraq could have avoided war as the issue of weapons of mass destructions would be viewed against a different background.

These dramatic changes happened because the PPP government was dismissed bringing tragic repercussions in its wake.

On the India front, PPP signed the only nuclear confidence building treaty between our nations, the agreement not to attack each other's respective nuclear facilities. We established military contact between the Pakistani and Indian leadership modeled after the hot line between Washington and Moscow during the Cold War. We opened our borders to travel and tourism, and adopted a South Asian preferential tariff agreement that established a free-trade zone between Pakistan, India and the other nations of the region.

With the dismissal of the PPP government, the ill concurred Kargil operation took place. Islamabad was humiliated into unilaterally withdrawing. Soldiers were abandoned to icy deaths. 3000 were secretly buried.

In 2001 an attack took place on the Indian parliament. Again Islamabad was humiliated into banning the militant groups under orders from Washington and New Delhi for better it would have been to have the political wisdom to rein in militants before adverse consequences fell on the country.

As if this was not enough, Islamabad was accused of exporting nuclear technology to North Korea in violation of solemn commitments. And while the Palestinian Authority lay under occupation, with homes bulldozed, with Jerusalem unsettled and Golan Heights occupied, the dictator offered to unilaterally recognize Israel. He failed to even tie up the recognition issue with the OIC resolutions or the Saudi Peace Initiative or to ask Israel to remain neutral on Kashmir.

When I traveled to New Delhi in November 2001 to develop better relations between our countries, I was denounced by the military establishment. Two years later they are openly declaring their commitment to the PPP vision of peace. Leadership is about vision. There is a timing in politics. Those who realise the lesson too late fail to reap the harvest for peace or for our people.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

General Musharraf created a hung Parliament. He marginalised the democratic parties. He wants the people of Pakistan, people all over the world, to choose between military dictatorship or religious rule. There is a third choice: Democratic Governance. But the dictator refused to give them that choice.

Let us remember that building a moderate, stable and democratic political structure in Afghanistan and Iraq could have saved the Afghans and the Iraqis from a devastating war, from death, destruction and devastation.

General Musharraf first staged an unconstitutional referendum to rubber-stamp his dictatorship. The New York Times called it a dubious exercise. There was a five percent turnout, no voting lists, no fixed polling stations, pictures of eight year olds voting.

He followed it up with an election that the European Union called “a deeply flawed exercise”. Human Rights Watch said “the deck was stacked against the democratic parties”.

He passed 29 constitutional amendments in 2 minutes. It took America 250 years to pass 27 amendments. General Musharraf distrusts democracy. He fears the outcome of a free expression of democracy. He refuses to let me return home in safety.

He is a soldier who fears a woman.

He is a General afraid to face a woman leading her Party.

I wonder what the great General is frightened off?

He is frightened because he knows this unarmed lady has the moral strength of ideas and the support of the Pakistani people.

For 7 years my Party, my family and I were tortured to force me to quit politics. By the Grace of God the people stood by me and I stood by them. To fight for truth and justice is a holy duty for us to save our Nation from the clutches of military dictatorship and oppression.

History has taught us the very hard lesson that when Pakistan turns against democracy, it turns against itself. In 1965, under one military dictatorship we signed the Tashkent Declaration. In 1971 we lost half the country. In 1981 we lost Siachen. In 2001, we lost Strategic depth in Afghanistan. That is why it is critical that Pakistan keeps sight of its democratic values.

Islamabad's Generals are betting that the White House needs them for the war on terror and the Iraq situation and will backburner the cause of democracy. Maybe they are right. But if Islamabad's military dictatorship is allowed to exploit America's strategic interests to legitimize its own illegitimate power, the threat to Pakistan from hostile neighbors, militant groups, suicide bombings can only increase. And we know from the example of Yugoslavia, what happens to countries that internally implode.

Therefore I appeal to the youth of Pakistan to come forward and unite for the restoration of democracy and constitutional rule.

I have great faith in the youth of Pakistan. I know the youth will redeem my faith in them.

You, the Youth, are our successor generation. To you we pass the torch of leadership, our democratic vision baptized in the sacred blood of our Martyrs.

Dear students, Dear youth, fight what you believe in. Fight for Democracy. Fight for our exploited and impoverished people.

Remember: it is better to live like a lion for one day -- than live like a jackal for a thousand years.

I wish you all success and happiness, my dear daughters and sons of Pakistan.

Meeting of Professional Women
San Jose - USA, November 18, 2003

Ladies and gentlemen,

I thought long and hard about whether to accept the gracious invitation to speak at this forum today. The politics of a former Prime Minister of Pakistan -- and the leader of Pakistan's most popular party -- travelling to India to discuss bilateral relations between our two Nations were truly complex.

In the end I decided to attend. I did this because the threat of a conflict in South Asia ending up in the first nuclear war since Hiroshima is real. Such a conflict could annihilate hundreds of millions without distinguishing whether they were Pakistanis or Indians or Kashmiris.

The determination to make a contribution to avoid this nuclear nightmare far outweighed other arguments that could have crossed my mind.

We meet today with the world a different and more dangerous place than we expected when the Berlin Wall fell.

The end of the Cold War promised to herald an era of global peace. The principles of Freedom and Free Markets promised to shake up sluggish economies. The prospect of a Peace Dividend was before us.

It was not to be.

The world is at war, not peace.

The U.S. led coalition occupies a major Islamic Nation, suffering daily attacks and many casualties. No one knows whether Iraq will survive the present phase.

Both India and Pakistan are under pressure to send troops to Iraq. And both are considering that option separately. How much better it would be if countries in this South Asian region could consult each other on such important measures before taking a final decision.

And as I talk to you, the resurgent Taliban are mounting fresh attacks against the Karzai government in Afghanistan. They are mounting attacks against the Coalition forces and the NGOs working there.

In Jammu and Kashmir, despite the present welcome ceasefire at the Line of Control, the intensity of violence has yet to decrease.

We must ask ourselves: are we to condemn our future generations to a world of violence, of conflict, of bloodshed, of war, blood and destruction.

This conference, organized to explore peace initiatives, is an important step in building a different kind of world. A world of peace and harmony that protects the life, liberty and livelihood of every individual irrespective of their race, religion, gender or political affiliation.

This is an important responsibility on the shoulders of the leadership of South Asia. This responsibility is all the more grave as the world is involved in the war against terrorism.

Few nations or regions have been spared. Christian churches and Muslim masjids were targets of suicide bombers in Pakistan. Your own Parliament became a bloody target. Great Britain is a target. Saudi Arabia is a target. Turkey is a target. Indonesia is a target. Australia is a target. There are seemingly constant acts of terrorism in the Middle East, every day, every week. The world is threatened with carnage in many corners.

We owe it to ourselves and to our people, to all of South Asia, to make every effort, to strive, to seek, to pursue peaceful means for the resolution of outstanding disputes, for confidence building and for reduction of tension in our region. This is the part we can play in helping the world community deal with the threat of terrorism.

The Pakistan Peoples Party, which I lead, welcomed Islamabad's announcement of a unilateral ceasefire along the Line of Control inclusive of Siachen. This measure was taken in response to Prime Minister Vajpayee's recent twelve-point package of confidence building measures.

There are many who believe that in the context of Indo Pak relations, tension can only be reduced when both countries are truly democracies. I am one of those who believe that democracies do not go to war against other democracies. I say this on the basis of Indo Pak history. Since Independence the three wars that took place between India and Pakistan took place under military dictatorships.

And since the destabilization of the democratic government that I led in 1996, India and Pakistan have come close to war three times.

As a witness to the historic Simla Agreement, the agreement that prevented full-fledged war between our countries since 1971, my Party and I are committed to the Peace process between our countries. It is this commitment that led the PPP and myself to welcome talks between New Delhi and Islamabad despite the military dictatorship in my country.

We believe that the military rulers overt statements for normalization of relations must be put to the test. If it is false, they will be exposed before the bar of public opinion. If it is true, the benefit will go to the people in the region.

It is therefore important to communicate, to enter into dialogue and to test the intentions of each other.

It is to the credit of Prime Minister Vajpayee that he did not lose heart despite the undermining of Bus Diplomacy and the failure of the Agra Summit. But then he is a man of many surprises.

For the time being, the Indo Pak ceasefire has brought happiness and immediate relief on both sides of the Line of Control. Hundreds of villages with thousands of peaceful inhabitants are worst hit during a military standoff. Mines are laid maiming many. Constant firing denies villagers sustenance.

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A new year begins with new hopes and expectations.

The major impact of this ceasefire relates to Siachin area. Both India and Pakistan spend enormous amounts on maintaining their respective holds on this highest and coldest of battlegrounds.

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The cost in lives, particularly during the Kargil fighting but also otherwise, and in those falling victims to cold induced injuries is immeasurable.

The announcement of the ceasefire serves as a deterrent to militancy. It minimizes the build up of a situation similar to that last year that could have erupted into a three-minute nuclear boom, and doom, massive destruction.

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Significantly, the ceasefire received wide acceptability in India and Pakistan igniting the hope that saner leadership will untie the Kashmir Gordian knot.

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The frequent military standoffs contribute immensely to the poverty in the region. The nuclear detonations in 1998 were a signal to awaken to new realities that changed the nature of a possible future Indo Pak war.

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The renewed contacts between India and Pakistan are taking place against the backdrop of statements by key officials both in Washington and in London. The senior officials and politicians have raised New Delhi's concerns with General Musharaf. According to them, General Musharaf has assured them that he will stop cross border militant activity.

This is a new strategic reality. It is arising out of the ashes of the Twin Towers that were brought down by the events of September 11th.

Even as the world witnesses the emergence of a post September 11 world with zero tolerance for acts of violence, we must be ever vigilant for elements that would do their best to undermine the prospects of a breakthrough.

These elements are the militants. They believe that without violence there will be no settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir issue. During their talks in Islamabad in January, the Indo Pak leadership will need to discuss how to have borders that are soft and which are also safe.

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In the past, New Delhi extended an invitation for unconditional dialogue to the APHC. Such measures, including the past ceasefire between militants and the Indian army, were innovative steps that gave momentum to the search for a solution that could end the threat of conflict from this ancient civilisation, so rich in culture, so full of diversity and populated with a hard working and talented peoples.

It is tragic that this subcontinent, so full of history, has remained for so long the most likely site for a nuclear exchange on our planet.

South Asia must begin its search for a peace dividend.

We can think of the peace dividend as the sum of resources no longer devoted to the military and available for the social sector.

The peace dividend can be the traditional guns for butter trade-off. In the longer term, a peace dividend is defined by investment. We must invest in technology. We must invest in infrastructure. Above all we must invest in human capital -- specifically on education and health.

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The greatest economic benefit of Indo Pak trade could occur in the sphere of energy cooperation. India is a rapidly growing energy market able to absorb new sources of supply as they materialize in the region.

Pakistan's possible role is in fulfilling this need both supplier and as a transit route from Iran and Central Asia. This requires construction of pipelines, a major capital investment that can come only in an environment of bilateral peace.

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Thank you.

Peace Conference

Hindustan Times Seminar - New Delhi

December 13, 2003

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I thought long and hard about whether to accept the gracious invitation to speak at this forum today. The politics of a former Prime Minister of Pakistan -- and the leader of Pakistan's most popular party -- travelling to India to discuss bilateral relations between our two Nations were truly complex.

In the end I decided to attend. I did this because the threat of a conflict in South Asia ending up in the first nuclear war since Hiroshima is real. Such a conflict could annihilate hundreds of millions without distinguishing whether they were Pakistanis or Indians or Kashmiris.

The determination to make a contribution to avoid this nuclear nightmare far outweighed other arguments that could have crossed my mind.

We meet today with the world a different and more dangerous place than we expected when the Berlin Wall fell.

The end of the Cold War promised to herald an era of global peace. The principles of Freedom and Free Markets promised to shake up sluggish economies. The prospect of a Peace Dividend was before us.

It was not to be.

The world is at war, not peace.

The U.S. led coalition occupies a major Islamic Nation, suffering daily attacks and many casualties. No one knows whether Iraq will survive the present phase.

Both India and Pakistan are under pressure to send troops to Iraq. And both are considering that option separately. How much better it would be if countries in this South Asian region could consult each other on such important measures before taking a final decision.

And as I talk to you, the resurgent Taliban are mounting fresh attacks against the Karzai government in Afghanistan. They are mounting attacks against the Coalition forces and the NGOs working there.

In Jammu and Kashmir, despite the present welcome ceasefire at the Line of Control, the intensity of violence has yet to decrease.

We must ask ourselves: are we to condemn our future generations to a world of violence, of conflict, of bloodshed, of war, blood and destruction.

This conference, organized to explore peace initiatives, is an important step in building a different kind of world. A world of peace and harmony that protects the life, liberty and livelihood of every individual irrespective of their race, religion, gender or political affiliation.

This is an important responsibility on the shoulders of the leadership of South Asia. This responsibility is all the more grave as the world is involved in the war against terrorism.

Few nations or regions have been spared. Christian churches and Muslim masjids were targets of suicide bombers in Pakistan. Your own Parliament became a bloody target. Great Britain is a target. Saudi Arabia is a target. Turkey is a target. Indonesia is a target. Australia is a target. There are seemingly constant acts of terrorism in the Middle East, every day, every week. The world is threatened with carnage in many corners.

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**Mohtarma Bhutto address at
Woodrow Wilson Centre
Woodrow Wilson Centre, Washington DC - February 9, 2004**

Ladies and Gentlemen:

As part of the effort to build a safer world, the Pakistan Peoples Party has been calling for normalization of relations with India.

In the context of Indo Pak relations, some believe that tension can only be reduced when both countries are truly democracies. I agree with that. Democracies do not go to war against other democracies. Indo Pak history proves this. Since the two countries won Independence in 1947, the three Indo-Pak wars that took place were under military dictatorships.

And since the destabilization of the democratic government that I led in 1996, India and Pakistan came close to war three times.

As a witness to the historic Simla Agreement, the agreement which prevented full fledged war between our countries since 1971, my Party and I are committed to the Peace process between our countries. It is this commitment which led the PPP and myself to welcome talks between New Delhi and Islamabad despite the military dictatorship in my country.

However, we do not believe General Musharaf has a vision for peace. He is a tactical leader who engages in short-term somersaults. His action are to relieve momentary pressures. As soon as the pressure is off, he goes back to his basic nature.

This is true of his actions relating to India, Taliban, the banning of militant groups and the regulations of political Madrassas.

It is the PPP which has the singular honour of making a breakthrough on Siachin during Indo Pak talks in 1989. It is the architect of the policy of soft borders on the disputed territories enunciated in 1999.

This policy flowed from a policy review undertaken after the Indo-Pak nuclear detonations of 1998. PPP in 2001, became first party in Pakistan to call for a ban on militant groups like Lashkar-e-Tayyabba and Jaish-e-Mohammad. Musharaf now adopts our policies but on the ground his old policies are in place.

I take this opportunity to commend the All Parties Hurriyet Conference. APHC has an important role to play in facilitating peaceful conditions in Srinigar as indeed in Muzzafarabad whose parties are also part of the APHC.

As Prime Minister I signed with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi the nuclear confidence building treaty in 1988, a treaty by which we committed not to attack our respective nuclear facilities. It was the most important peace accords between us since the Simla Agreements signed in 1972.

We were also able to establish hot lines between the General headquarters of both our countries modelled after the Hotline between Washington and the Kremlin.

These confidence building measures were important to moving the cause of peace and facing the challenge of differing perceptions on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir.

Other countries also have different points of view on issues. China and India have a border dispute but they do not threaten each other with war. In fact, relations between the two countries keep improving.

We can learn from such models of conflict management. Progress can help build stronger economic ties.

In the early years, 56 percent of Pakistan's total exports went direct to the Indian market. However, as the political relations deteriorated in the 1950s, trade died down and became practically non existent for fifty years.

It was to revive this relationship that the PPP government under my leadership proposed a South Asian Tariff Agreement during the Islamabad Summit of 1988. The PPP government between 1993 and 1996 ratified the SAPTA agreement during my second tenure. Trade between our two countries is a benefit to the common man.

The politics of the PPP has always been the politics of the common man.

Despite a growing middle class in both countries, the depth of poverty of our underclass defames our image.

The French philosopher Rousseau said that we were all born free. Yet our societies, cultures, politics and militaries, keep our people chained to illiteracy, ignorance, intolerance, infant mortality, malnutrition and disease. It is to break those chains of backwardness that the PPP was working from Simla to Islamabad to its vision of SAPTA and free travel for the countries of South Asia.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In 1988, my government and I worked closely with the world community on the issue of nuclear proliferation. My government convinced other major players in Pakistan's power structure of the importance of nuclear restraint.

Following recent disclosures by Iran, Islamabad detained seven scientists attached to its nuclear facility at Kahuta. An investigation by our intelligence agency is our underway.

The recent proliferation accusations cover North Korea, Iran and Libya.

Saif Gaddafi allegedly said Pakistan sold 'full bomb dossier' to Tripoli. The New York Times carried a sales brochure of nuclear components from Pakistan's AQ Khan Laboratories published in 2000 when Musharaf was the Chief Executive.

Washington has indicated that it is willing to accept Musharaf's plea that this was "in the past".

US officials said on January 16th that they are investigating a possible Islamabad connection in the export of trigger devices for nuclear weapons by a South African businessman of Israeli origin. The New York Times reports the paper trail leads to Pakistan.

Islamabad faces an explosive situation. Pakistani's do not believe its nuclear scientists, could have sold nuclear technology on their own. There is a consensus that the scientists are being made scapegoats. Musharaf's go it alone attitude has left the public ignorant of developments relating to the proliferation inquiry. Most information has come from the American media.

It was from the US media that the people learnt that for the past two years, Musharaf suspected Abdul Qadeer Khan was free-lancing nuclear assets, while the Inter-Services Intelligence agency was in the dark. It was from the British paper that people in Pakistan learnt that Colin Powell had asked for the arrest of Qadeer Khan in 2002.

Unless there is a transparent public inquiry into the chain of events leading to accusations against the scientists, a public backlash is likely. Few people are ready to believe that the scientists acted on their own.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I entered politics with the dream to help my country prosper on democratic principles.

Tragically, I found that the fanatics and the dictators fear the empowerment of the People of Pakistan -- they fear literacy, equality and above all fear information.

They demean political parties and democratically elected leaders to justify direct or indirect military rule.

Concentrating power in one Institution has negative consequences. Iraq and Afghanistan are two recent examples. Both once key allies of the west, the Baathists and the Mujahideen had to be removed by force.

Weakened political parties and structures make the task of reconstruction more difficult.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The terrorists of Al Qaeda including Osama Bin Laden and Ramzi Yousaf tried to get rid of the PPP government. Musharaf is also trying to get rid of the PPP. I ask myself why the common denominator between both of these apparently irreconcilable forces is the attempt to crush the PPP.

I believe as a democrat, I am their opposite. As someone who offers hope to our people -- education, jobs, communication and modernity instead of guns and disempowerment -- I am an obstacle to the forces of hate.

Under the PPP government Pakistan integrated into the global economy. We became one of the ten emerging capital markets of the world. We invested in education and health.

My government condemned honour killing, the murder of women who chose to marry without their guardian's permission. My party has moved a bill in Parliament making these honour killings illegal. Sadly, but not unsurprisingly, Pakistan's military regime refuses to join us.

General Musharaf did make the correct decision to stand with America following the attack on the world trade centres. But until he did so, his regime was the most ardent supporter of the Taliban even as it harboured Al-Qaeda. He learned his politics from the father of the Afghan Jihad the religious despot Zia ul Haq.

General Zia wanted the people of Pakistan to live under the strict interpretation of Islamic laws by the Muslim brotherhood just like the Taliban. Now Musharaf has promoted the politics of excluding the mainstream party opening the way for the religious parties that, like Zia, wish to implement the Muslim Brotherhood's interpretation of Islamic school of law.

Musharaf is a leader who was best friends with AL-Qaeda harbourers and with the religious parties that recently bailed him out from his constitutional crisis. When pushed by President Bush to stand up and be counted as friend or foe, he dumped the Taliban. The US forgave him accepting that it was "in the past".

India and Pakistan nearly went to war following the Indian Pakistan blast in 2001. Musharaf banned militant groups following this attack and said "it was in the past".

When Washington woke up to possible export of nuclear technology to North Korea, Musharaf assured the US Secretary of State that "it was in the past".

But when it comes to pursuing his political opponents, it's never in the past. It's all about accountability.

It surprised people in Pakistan that as Washington talks of the importance of freedom in Iraq and Afghanistan, it coddles dictatorship in Pakistan.

In Pakistan, those of us who are committed to human rights and democracy abhor terrorism in all of its murderous forms.

At this time of political crisis in Pakistan, with a military dictatorship strangling our Constitution, America should stand for its values and principles, and reject tyranny.

Pakistan's military dictator has given mixed signals at home and around the world.

He denounces Osama, yet allows Taliban and Al Qaeda leaders escaping from the Tora Bora mountain range. They are seen as his insurance policy to get continued support for his dictatorship. He knows that once the problem is resolved, he will no longer be needed. So he has to keep the pot boiling.

The Taliban regrouped are now reasserting themselves. It is said that they have a parallel government in every province.

Musharaf professes pluralism abroad, while he smashes free expression, free association and free elections at home. The arrest of the French journalists and the trial of the reporter Rizvi are two recent examples.

As the noted French author Bernard-Henri Levy recently observed in the Washington Post:

"After September 11th, the war against terrorism had to be declared, and that it has to be carried on, with all the necessary alliances. But what is the real necessity, in this framework, of the US-Pakistan alliance? Was it necessary, after the most recent visit of Musharaf to Washington, to continue the massive funding of his regime?" People of Pakistan ask the same question.

The United States is committing billions of dollars in military aid to Pakistan. It would make sense to tie this generous assistance to genuine political reform and social liberalization.

General Musharaf presides over the most massive rise of religious parties that Islamabad has seen in its fifty-four year history.

Pakistan, observed Arnold de Borchgrave, the UPI Editor in Chief, recently " is a nuclear power with two of its four provinces governed by six politico-religious parties whose leaders are friends of Taliban's Mullah Omar and al-Qaeda's Osama bin Laden." These six parties are also friends of Musharaf whom they bailed out of the constitutional crisis.

The October elections orchestrated in Pakistan in 2002 year were a mockery of justice. The leaders of Pakistan's major political parties, including myself were banned from contesting.

Taliban leader Mullah Omar's teacher was allowed to contest and did enter Parliament.

We were stopped from contesting and campaigning. Yet, after the polls closed, it seemed we won an over whelming majority of parliamentary seats. But results were held off. Turnout, estimated at 20%, doubled, quadrupled, and in some areas exceeded 100%.

Despite this rigging, my party won enough seats to form the government of Pakistan.

But the session of the Parliament was post phoned indefinitely. My party's majority was broken with the formation of a splinter group.

The splinter group was formed by General Mehdi, Musharaf's appointee in charge of Para military forces. He happens to be the brother-in-law of former Air Chief Mushaf another Musharaf appointee.

That Air Chief, according to a recent American book "Why America Slept" was a supporter of Al-Qaeda who knew of the September 11th attacks before they took place.

I believe those that believed they defeated one super power and could defeat another, who sympathise with Al-Qaeda and support Musharaf, sabotaged and the chances of my party forming the government. This was despite the fact that I was banned from Parliament and would not have led the government. This means that they oppose not just my leadership but they oppose the very ideas and policies of the PPP even as they pretend to adopt those policies. This is the disconnect between stated policy and ground reality.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The European Union and the Colombo Observers, the Commonwealth found the October elections "flawed".

Human rights watch said "The deck was sacked against the democratic parties".

General Musharaf gave the religious parties control of the states bordering Afghanistan.

He wants the people of Pakistan, and people all over the world, to believe the choice in Pakistan is between military dictatorship and religious dictatorship.

He is saying that his military dictatorship alone stands in the way of the Talibanization of Pakistan, the creation of a nuclear-armed extremist Republic.

A Powerful message. But a total fraud.

Dictatorship doesn't constrain fundamentalism. It provokes it.

The rise of religious parties to power in Pakistan under Musharaf proves this.

The involvement of the military in the politics of Pakistan is undermining our institutions. Last February a Pakistan military officer fired on an American military officer. The America's dropped a 500lb bomb in retaliation. This is one of several clashes that have took place at the Pak-Afghan border. The tribal areas are already tense with reports of a US spring offensive in those parts which according to the Chicago Tribune Musharaf has approved. However, Musharaf has denied the same in Pakistan. His policy is the policy of contradictions, duality, deceit -- all tactical measures lacking vision or depth.

Women's rights are thrown back a century as honour killings increase.

Political leaders are arrested as part of the politics of revenge, sometimes for years.

My own husband, hostage to my political career, is in Musharaf's custody as we speak tonight. He was arrested the night the PPP government was overthrown on November 4, 1996. Two American Presidents have completed their terms while he has been in prison.

After he is released by the courts, he is charged again. Released, re-arrested. There is no justice under Musharaf's watch.

Blackmail of women politicians is openly indulged in. The husband of parliamentarian Farzana Raja was arrested and she was asked to switch sides. The electricity and telephone connections were cut and she was intimidated with the presence of intelligence hounds.

Two other women did defect. One confided she was promised her brother would be promoted from Brigadier to Maj General. The other presumably was offered both money and a ministry. This we know from those that rejected such offers. This kind of politics corrupts society and breakdowns the professionalism of institutions.

I am told that my husband will be freed if I announce my retirement from politics. I know that my duty to my people comes first, for the sake of my children and all the children of Pakistan.

General Musharaf first staged an unconstitutional referendum to rubber-stamp his dictatorship. The New York Times called it a "dubious exercise".

There were no other candidates, no voting lists, no fixed polling stations and eight year olds were pictured voting.

He passed 29 constitutional amendments in 2 minutes. It took America 250 years to pass 27 amendments.

These amendments gave him unprecedented powers. Powers that Mullah Omar invested himself with in Afghanistan.

And while he reaches agreement with the religious parties yielding his treasured uniform in the process, he refuses to make substantive concessions for a democratic Pakistan with the PPP which won the largest number of votes. The message is clear: He is willing to give in to the religious parties to promote them in society while simultaneously tasking the intelligence to weaken democratic parties with fissures and desertions through tactics involving blackmail and bribe.

Musharaf likes to me corrupt although I have not been convicted by any court of law despite seven years of trying by the military establishment. However, he refuses to investigate Saif Gaddafi's claim that Libya paid forty million dollars for a "bomb dossier". Moreover, he included in his cabinet those of my Party charged with corruption. He made them Minister of Interior and Minister of Water and Power to give two examples.

He refuses to let me return safely to my country even as he frees those charged and convicted for corruption taking them into his cabinet.

A leading weekly recently asked: Why does he hate Benazir Bhutto?

The dictator's attacks on me are really attacks on the policies my Party and I espouse, and the issues we advance. And thus in Pakistan the causes of women's rights, human rights, press freedom and democracy fall backwards into the dark chasms of a past era.

General Musharaf uses Pakistan's importance to the United States in Afghanistan to further his own dictatorship. This is at the cost of the human and democratic rights of the people of Pakistan. He says he will contain terrorists and militants but they keep regrouping under different names. Now he is making Madrassas flush with money from aid that Washington is giving while government institutes of education are starved for funds and government teachers poorly paid.

He and his military dictator predecessors tasked the Intelligence to control the political process in the country. This politicisation is now tarnishing the image of the intelligence known as ISI. It is also tarnishing the image of Parliament. The new Prime Minister was elected after the ISI bussed in the parliamentarians to the ISI headquarters and ordered them to vote for Mr. Jamali who was until then being investigated for corruption charges.

How many more September 11ths, how many more Danny Pearls, how many more wars where so many young people die before we realize that the greatest protection of freedom from terrorists, is replacing dictatorships with governments responsible to the people, governments based on the values of democracy and liberty.

Democracies, must provide for the public welfare, must provide social services, and must provide education, health and housing. Dictatorships need not.

More than one billion Muslims stand at the crossroads. They must not be left to choose between one dictatorship or another, between military dictatorship and religious dictatorship.

History teaches us that when America turns against democracy, it turns against itself. This is what happened when Washington walked away from Afghanistan after the Soviets withdrew. Regrettably, Al Qaeda made Afghanistan its base to launch war against the West. Now, in this critical war against terrorism, America must keep sight of its democratic values.

Islamabad rulers believe Washington will continue supporting them. They claim that Washington is tied down in Afghanistan and Iraq, suffering daily casualties and will therefore sacrifice the cause of democracy.

If General Musharaf is right in this assessment and his nuclear-armed military dictatorship continues exploiting the war on international terror to legitimize his illegitimate power, the threat from terrorists could build through this century.

I empathize with the author Bernard Henry-Levi, who wrote:

"I have become part of a growing club of those who cannot return to Pakistan, simply because they don't want to end up like journalist Daniel Pearl. But I am convinced that a harsher tone, a reformulation of the terms of alliance, is called for, so that our relationship with Musharaf will be more than a gullible, naïve embrace -- and will conform to moral as well as political imperatives. And I would add that waiting for us is the other Pakistan --that which is liberal, democratic, secular, which fights, back against the wall, against mounting Islamicism, and which does not understand why, in this combat, [America] is not at its side."

Thank you ladies and gentlemen.

**Speech on International Women's Day at
Dubai Women's College
March 8, 2004**

Bismillah Ir Rahman Nir Raheem.

Dear sisters, ladies and gentlemen,

I am delighted to join you this morning on international women's day.

This is a day where across continents and countries, women of different races, religions, cultures and histories meet together to demonstrate solidarity.

It is a special day for me as a woman, one I share with all my sisters.

It was in 1910, that a woman from Germany moved a motion at a conference to declare march 8 as international woman's day.

How many mocked that one woman. How small she seemed against the sea of people who believed woman to be less than a man.

Yet in less than one hundred years that small woman who spoke up with one voice triumphed because she was speaking for a truth and a right:

The truth that men and women are born equal and must be treated equally.

This proves the old saying that each long journey begins with one small step.

My message to you is to always have the courage to make that step when you know in your heart that it is the right step to take.

That one woman was not afraid to speak up. She was not afraid that she would be mocked or shamed. She believed in her thoughts and fought for her rights. She began a campaign to collect signatures. Soon there were I million signatures for observing women's day.

Now nearly every country in the world celebrates woman's day and celebrates the power of what one woman can do.

Remember in life we women have nothing to fear but fear itself.

Reject fear and the fear of failure, you will climb the sweetest heights of success.

For me women's day is a special day, a day of remembrance, a day of rededication to my sisters to stand with them.

Women have come a long way since 1910 and we still have to go a long way.

Our holy prophet, peace be upon him, condemned the practice of killing the girl child practiced in pagan times.

The killing of the girl child symbolised violence against woman when she was but a helpless infant.

Yet violence against women continues in different ways. Violence against women is wrong, it is immoral and we must stand up against this.

In observing women's day, I salute all those men who believe in gender equality. Women's rights are human rights. Human rights are indivisible. Therefore, men and women have a role to play in advancing the cause of women.

Sometimes it is a man who is an oppressor. Sometimes it is a woman who is an oppressor. An oppressor does not know gender.

In my case, I learnt about women's rights from a very special man-my father.

He was the one who said one day to my mother, I do not want my daughter to wear the veil although I want her to dress modestly.

It was my father who insisted that I have a university education even though his sisters said, "don't do that because no man will marry an educated woman".

My success came because my father was a special man.

In my eyes president of UAE, his highness Shaikh Zayed is a special man and the ruler of Dubai, Shaikh Maktoum is a special man. They built these schools and universities so that the daughters of UAE and Dubai could get the best education the world could offer.

Education is the first step to success, to independence and to a satisfying life where the full creative and intellectual powers of a person are used to lead a stimulating, interesting and instructive life.

I am often asked how I became prime minister of a Muslim country. My reply is that I derived inspiration from the historical fact that the holy prophet of Islam, peace be upon him, married a working woman.

Yet through the mists of time, some of us, under colonialism, or tribalism or feudalism, lost touch with the roots of our religion.

Now once again, with the stress on education, on health facilities for women and on work opportunities for women, Muslim countries are beginning to awaken the creative force of their woman power.

My life is not the simple life I dreamt of when I was studying at Harvard university and at oxford.

I have lost my father when he was fifty years old. I lost two of my brothers.

Many thought that as a woman, I would break.

I did not because I believe that leadership is born of a passion. It is a commitment and it becomes life's mission.

Women often have to make difficult choices. Sometimes choices that men do not have to make. Yet we make them because we must.

I grew up at a time of war. War in Vietnam. War between India and Pakistan.

The more I read about war, the more I wanted to work for peace and the peaceful resolutions of conflicts.

While I was at Oxford University, a British politician was threatening to throw all Asians into the sea. In hearing him I learnt about racial discrimination. I was determined to work for a world free of discrimination.

While I was at oxford, the British conservative party nominated Margaret Thatcher as their prime ministerial candidate.

I thought: if in England, then surely in Pakistan.

At oxford, I was the first female foreigner to win the presidency of the prestigious oxford debating society.

I had been told that as a foreigner I could not win and should not run.

I had been told that as a woman I could not win and should not run.

But I did run and I did win and in so doing I overcame my fear of losing.

I learnt to take risks.

Later I was told that because I was a woman I could not win the prime ministership of Pakistan.

Putting my faith in Allah and my trust in the love of the people of my country, I refused to take no for an answer.

I won because I refused to take no for an answer and because I believed that one individual, one woman, could make a difference.

So my message to all of you today is: don't take no for an answer.

Be ready to take risks for what you believe in, what in your heart you know is right.

On this international women's day, I urge women around the world not to accept no for an answer, not to accept restraints and constraints.

Remember Islam came as a message of emancipation putting an end to the humiliation of women.

This new century of ours must, for once and for all, be a century that values the girl child, that respects the woman, and protects its daughters, mothers and sisters in peace and in war, that honours and dignifies its women with economic freedom and allows us to be judged by our individual achievements.

My dear sisters and distinguished guests:

I wonder how many know that every hour one thousand children starve to death in the world.

As long as such violations of human rights exist, none of us, regardless of where we live, regardless of how comfortable our lifestyles, none of us are free.

I hope that your generation will succeed where mine failed.

I pray that you will succeed in building a better world, a world of peace, a world free of hunger, of pain and of suffering.

You are the leaders of tomorrow. Remember leaders do what is moral, they do what is right, they do what is necessary to build a better world.

And they don't take no for an answer because they know one individual, one woman, can make a difference.

Thank You.

**Speech at
Lady Margaret Hall
by Ms Benazir Bhutto
May 27, 2004**

It is a pleasure and an honour for me to return to Lady Margaret Hall. I thank the Principal, Mrs. Frances Lannon, for the invitation and the opportunity to meet with you this evening.

I was at Lady Margaret Hall in the seventies at the height of the Miners strike. I return to Lady Margaret Hall in different times. Now London prepares emergency evacuation plans in the event of a terrorist strike in this the twenty first century.

The changes in threat perception and preparation are enormous.

I visit Oxford at a time when Coalition forces are seemingly bogged down in a political and military quagmire that threatens the achievement of its goals in Iraq.

With respect to the war on terrorism-I see three primary victims of the Al Qaeda rampage of September 11th. Above all the victims are the people who were killed that day.

The era of peace for which we prayed, became a time of war.

Violence continues in Iraq and Afghanistan. Terrorist acts take place from Indonesia to Morocco. Even Madrid is not spared.

This violence takes place at a time when tension in the Middle East make the peace process a distant dream. Despite some overtures, India and Pakistan still have a distance to travel to reduce the risk of nuclear confrontation.

Ladies and gentlemen, The attack on the Twin Towers was an attack on a country that symbolises freedom.

As a former student from Oxford and Harvard, I first learned of freedom in these bastions of democracy.

It was at Oxford, with its flourishing political groups and debates at the Oxford Union that I learned of dissent, tolerance, and equal opportunity for all citizens.

My commitment to freedom was nurtured here. Britain is the world's oldest democracy. Its elected, representative and empowered House of Commons as well as its Habeous Corpus Charter is a light of hope for all those denied human dignity across the world.

Wedded to the past, the terrorists attacked the symbols of a modern age.

Ladies and gentlemen,

It grieves me that included in the list of innocent victims of September 11th is the image of Islam across the world. For me, Islam is not what these people preach.

I see Islam as committed to tolerance and equality and committed, by Koranic definition, to the principles of democracy.

The Muslim people want freedom. I know the people of Pakistan want freedom.

They can not understand the support for a military dictator.

Islam is committed to universal education and literacy. The very first word of the Holy Book Koran is "Read."

Yet, while militaries are armed, students are often not educated. Professors and teachers are paid very little salaries.

Islam is committed to the equality of women in society. The wife of the Holy Prophet of Islam was a working woman.

Yet, in many Muslim countries, women are discriminated against in every aspect of life. Most of these crimes go unpunished.

The investment in justice, law and order and prosecution is small.

Businessmen and women are not allowed to freely compete. Nepotism and cronyism prevail parliamentarians pressured or forced to defect.

Human rights activists are jailed.

Political parties are decimated.

Political leaders are political prisoners or forced into exile. Dissent is not tolerated. Television interviews are regulated by the military.

This is the street of decent Muslim people, terrorized by the authoritarian powers of the state.

It is the street of Pakistan's future in the chains of tyranny where law and constitution are treated with contempt.

And it is a street that threatens to explode.

We must fight a war on terrorism, and on political manipulation of religion and against military dictatorship.

Terrorists and dictators are the cause of war, bloodshed, inhumanity, chaos and disintegration.

In the end, they will be defeated.

Ladies and gentlemen,

In the Muslim Holy Book, Abraham is our father, just as Moses and Jesus are our prophets.

There are similarities between Islam and the Judeo-Christian traditions.

Muslims believe that Jews, Christians and Muslims are one people who are Ahle e Kitaab that is who have religious books containing the message sent by God through his Prophets.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

If Islam and the Muslim world are viewed as threats, we will enter a relentless cycle of action and reaction spiralling out of control. To prevent this, it is important to distinguish between those committing crimes in the name of the Islamic religion and those Muslims who believe in peaceful religious co-existence.

It would be a tragedy if suspicion towards Muslims led to a backlash that provoked a clash of civilizations.

All Nineteen of the hijackers that hit the world trade center were Arabs. That Arab countries could have produced men who launched such an attack makes them the center of scrutiny in the twenty-first century. There is renewed focus on the Arabs as a whole. Nonetheless, the war against terror has put the Middle East issue on the backburner. This should not be so. A Middle East settlement is one of the significant keys to the future Arab mind and the Arab youth just as it is key to the mind of the Israelis who today live under the shadow of the suicide bomber.

The Coalition forces in Baghdad, greeted with hope after the fall of the Saddam dictatorship, are now facing the anger of the Iraqi people. The lack of preparedness for the post Saddam era caused the backlash. There is a need to widen the base of international and internal participation in Iraq.

Iraq and the Middle East are brimming with violence. They are the flash points that Osama and his cohorts exploit to hide their aim of a religious war through feigned sympathy for nationalism. They exploit a growing siege mentality within the Muslim world.

Following September 11, many Muslims found themselves treated with suspicion. This created a siege mentality. That siege mentality was reinforced by the Iraq war, a war that started without cover of the United Nations.

Despite Saddam's history of dictatorship and repression, many in the Islamic world interpret the invasion of Iraq presaging a wider attack against an array of Muslim countries including Iran, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and eventually Pakistan. The recent sanctions against Syria reinforce this view.

While most Muslim intellectuals strongly condemn the attacks on the World Trade Center, they believe that unaddressed political problems and neglected social injustice provided a dish allowing the germs of terrorism and hatred to multiply.

The world is threatened but a military response is only part of the solution to the problem of terrorism and the growing divide between the Muslim and non-Muslim world.

The instability of the Iraqi occupation, the continuing instability in Afghanistan, the deteriorating situation in the Middle East between Israelis and Palestinians, and the unresolved tragedy of Kashmir impact upon the people in the Street. No one knows when the masses can become a mob and that mob strike out against anything Western.

Some scholars argue that with its overwhelming military might and allies, America must shed its imperial inhibitions and take on the responsibility of reshaping the world. For them, the post Yalta world is now redundant with the collapse of the Soviet Union. The world is to be reshaped to mirror the new realities. Driven by a sense of righteousness, the proponents of this theory find a moral purpose in unilateral action.

Such scholars overlook the lessons of twentieth century history. This history teaches us that the go it alone policy fails to build the political support that must follow a military victory.

It was for this reason that one of America's great Presidents, Woodrow Wilson, promoted the concept of collective security and the principle of self-determination.

To prevent the acceleration of the clash of cultures, civilizations and religions, collective security is important to ensure world stability in the coming decades.

As Prime Minister of Pakistan, I stood up to the forces of dictatorship that breed extremism by weakening democratic forces.

During the Afghan-Soviet war in the seventies and eighties, Pakistan became the breeding ground for the political and religious manipulation of the religious extremists. Pakistan's then military dictator insisted on handling the fighters in Afghanistan, known as the Jihadis, directly through his own intelligence services.

He recruited and supported the most extreme elements in his bid to undermine the moderate and democratic political forces of the country. He justified his dictatorship under the guise of implementing an Islamic system. He belonged to the Muslim brotherhood and he brought in their supporters from all over the world to Pakistan.

Exploiting the name of religion, he established thousands of doctrinaire schools. These schools produced brainwashed young men that could be sent off to fight the superpowers. First the Soviets-and then the West.

But one must never give in;

To the fanatics and the extremists democracy and rule by elected representatives.

To Islam at the crossroads, a modern, democratic Pakistan was one fork in the road, fanaticism and ignorance the other.

With the failure of their attempted military coup in 1995, the extremists worked with their supporters in the security establishment to destabilise the democratic government I led. My brother was murdered. The PPP President was blackmailed into dismissing the PPP government. The elections, according to the SAARC observers, was rigged and a pliant political protege of the military dictator Zia ul Haq was brought in.

A psychological war was launched against the PPP to demonise its leadership. Our government had been the obstacle to the triumph of Taliban over all Afghanistan, to the invitation to Al Qaeda in pursuit of the agenda of religious

war and to the export of extremism through Afghanistan, into Central Asia then to Chechnya and onto the shores of Europe.

I am proud of my record as Prime Minister in containing international terrorism and reducing tensions with India.

During my first tenure in office, we facilitated the formation of an interim government of national consensus in Afghanistan where the moderates and hard liners agreed to co-exist. During my second tenure, my government confined the Taliban to Southern Afghanistan prevailing upon them to enter negotiations with the United Nations Special Envoy Mr. Brahmi.

With the eclipse of my government in late September 1996, the Taliban seized Kabul imposing their will across Afghanistan. After my overthrow on November 4, 1996, they openly invited in Osama Bin Laden. In 1997, they allowed Bin Laden to establish Al Qaeda. Al Qaeda set up camps without secrecy to recruit and train young men from the Muslim world. As Leader of the Opposition in the Pakistani Parliament, I called upon Islamabad to sever ties with the Taliban in 1998. That call went unheeded.

On the India front, we had extraordinary progress with the first nuclear confidence building treaty, the agreement not to attack each other's respective nuclear facilities. We established a hot line between the Pakistani and Indian leadership modelled after the hot line between Washington and Moscow during the Cold War. We opened up our borders to travel and tourism, and adopted a South Asian preferential tariff agreement that established a free-trade zone between Pakistan, India and the other nations of the region.

The PPP government was making dramatic progress in relations with India and with containing terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan. But moderation and progress is not what the Army hard-liners and religious extremists could tolerate. I was their threat, and I was eliminated. I am afraid, ladies and gentlemen, that the consequences continue to ripple across Asia.

In the closing days of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, I cautioned that the policy to defeat the Soviets had empowered and emboldened the most fanatical, extremist elements of the Afghan Mujahadeen at the expense of the moderates, creating a "Frankenstein" that could come back to haunt us in the future.

I fear now that the policy to support the Musharaf military dictatorship to fight the war against terror is strengthening the religious parties and extremists in Pakistan at the expense of the moderates. They could turn into the new Frankenstein's monster that haunts us in the future.

The fundamental mistake, which contributed to a long-term historical calamity, was that we were not consistently committed to the values of freedom, democracy and self-determination that ultimately undermine and belie the basic tenets of terrorism.

The international community must not repeat that mistake again.

Democracy and human rights must be the centrepiece of policy around the world.

The international community need not coddle dictators to promote its own interests. Its interest is democracy, not tyranny.

In Pakistan just as in Britain and around the world, those of us who are committed to human rights and democracy abhor terrorism in all of its murderous forms.

The goal of British policy must always be to simultaneously promote stability and to strengthen democratic values.

Pakistan's military dictatorship has been ambiguous in its opposition to terrorism. It has given mixed signals at home and around the world.

Let me quote from a recent report by the International Crisis Group entitled:

"Unfulfilled Promises: Pakistan's Failure to Tackle Extremism:"

"Musharraf's failure owes less to the difficulty of implementing reforms than to the military government's own unwillingness. Indeed, he is following the pattern of the country's previous military rulers in co-opting religious extremists to support his government's agenda and to neutralize his secular political opposition. Far from combating extremism, the military government has promoted it through its electoral policies and its failure to implement effective reform. Whatever measures have so far been taken against extremism have been largely cosmetic, to ease international pressure."

Lt. Gen. David Barno, a senior US General, has expressed concern over Islamabad's commitment to fighting Al Qaeda and the remnants of Taliban in the tribal areas of Pakistan. Earlier the US Ambassador to Afghanistan echoed similar sentiments with regard to the Taliban.

In March, during a visit by the US Secretary of State to Pakistan, Islamabad launched a much publicized campaign against Arab-Afghan fighters in the tribal area of Wana. Islamabad's military dictator hinted to CNN that Al Qaeda's number two, described as a high value target, was surrounded and on the verge of capture. None of this was true. No Arab Afghan was found. The only people caught were Chechens and Uzbeks. The Pak army suffered high casualties and some officers were taken hostage. Soon after Colin Powell left, an amnesty was announced for those that fought and killed Pak army officials.

A similar amnesty was announced for a Pak nuclear scientist who confessed to selling nuclear products internationally. General Musharaf said that, "he could keep the money too", a reference to the two hundred million dollars reportedly milked through the scandal. Those earlier arrested for corruption by Musharaf when he seized power were forgiven and taken into the Cabinet when they defected from their political parties. The sons of the Generals who fought the first Afghan Jihad and reportedly amassed vast riches by siphoning Jihad funds sit as proud members of General Musharaf's handpicked cabinet.

Political opponents who proclaim their innocence and confront a systematic campaign of perversion of justice are shown no mercy by the military dictatorship.

As a leading scholar from the Carnegie Peace Institute put it, "Nobody around the world's capitals is even asking why General Musharaf's iron hand is reserved for his political critics and opponents while he deploys amnesty and negotiated settlements for alleged terrorists and militant tribesmen".

The government and people of the United Kingdom and the rest of the world must remember that Pakistan has a brutal, extra-constitutional military government with no democratic legitimacy. More people in Pakistan than ever before are unemployed and live below the poverty line.

Through the long years of super-power rivalry and the emergence of Pakistan as a strategic partner in the fight against Communism, the international community relied on the Pakistani military. I would argue that in the war against terrorism, the international community must rely on the strength of the people and not on the strength of militaries. The militaries are often the problem and not the solution.

In several Muslim countries around the world, direct or indirect dictatorships, relying on the backing of the military and of the international community are causing resentment and anger amongst the people. These dictators are seen as the proxies of the foreign powers and feed the frenzy of xenophobia and anti

western sentiment that the extremists and terrorist exploit. As the moderate forces are squeezed, opposition shifts to the Masjids and to the political sermons delivered by religious leaders following the prayer.

A democratic system allows peaceful and political change. It permits pluralism. There is always an alternative available to the people. Tragedy strikes when alternatives are missing. We saw it in Afghanistan where the Taliban dictatorship refused to permit political opposition and war became the only recourse. We saw it in Iraq when the Baathist Party was the sole monopoliser of power and short of war there was no alternative to peaceful, political change.

War brings its own dangers. Dangers that lurk in casualties and blood shed. And more dangers that lurk in the threat of a state disintegrating in the event of a withdrawal. The bloody break up of Yugoslavia is a recent example.

Autocrats do not become democrats by words; they become democrats by deeds. And so far, the deeds of Musharraf are the deeds of a military dictator. He has forced into exile the popular leadership of the country. He sacked half of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, including its chief justice. Members of the press that write independently are roughed up, imprisoned or forced into exile. One editor was forced into exile for running a story on possible links between the security establishment and the murderers of Wall St Journal reporter Danny Pearl.

The Musharaf dictatorship has build up the security establishment as a state-within-a-state. There are two laws in Pakistan--one for the civilians and another for the military. There are also two separate educational opportunities, health opportunities, pension opportunities, investment opportunities, economic benefits, agricultural allotments, bank loans, permits for commercial plazas, plush low cost housing depending on whether one wears Mufti or Khaki. In fact the agrarian feudal lords and the industrial robber barons have been replaced by the Khaki class.

In Iraq members of the coalition forces die doing duty without being given commercial, residential and agricultural holdings as rewards. In Islamabad, the Generals get these rewards without dying doing duty.

Perhaps it is naiveté by the West, or short-term myopia that has led to disastrous courting of the Shah of Iran, Marcos of the Philippines and Zia of Pakistan.

Pakistan, as has been observed by Arnold de Borchgrave, the UPI Editor in Chief, is ' a nuclear power with two of its four provinces governed by six politico-religious parties whose leaders are friends of Taliban's Mullah Omar and al-Qaeda's Osama bin Laden."

The so-called October 2002 elections in Pakistan were blatant frauds engineered by Musharraf's electoral cells. This fraud was exposed by the European community and election monitors from all over the world. General Musharraf, for reasons known only to himself, allowed the religious parties to make significant gains by declaring that religious school diplomas would be treated at par with University degrees. He then decreed that only those with University degrees could contest elections. His strategy is to tell the international community that only he and the Pakistani army stand in the way of a religious take over in Pakistan. A powerful argument but a total fraud.

I was banned by special decree from contesting the October elections. I have challenged that ban. Mullah Omar's teacher was allowed to contest the elections and is now a member of Parliament.

My husband, hostage to my political career, sits in a Musharraf prison as we speak this evening.

This is the state of justice in Musharaff's Pakistan.

I ask myself why a man who simultaneously enjoys the powers of Chief of Army Staff and President is afraid to let me lead my party?

General Musharraf has nuclear tipped missiles and thousands of tanks, but he does not have the people of Pakistan.

General Musharraf exploits the war on terrorism to protect his dictatorship. Like his military predecessor General Zia he uses Pakistan's critical importance to the international community in Afghanistan as a smokescreen for his own dictatorship.

He undermines the popular Pakistan Peoples Party, using every trick in the book to force its members to defect to strengthen the religious parties.

The "fox" patrols the "hen house," while the world seems to be asleep.

The best and only control for the excesses of extremism, is accountability to the people. It is for this we pray in Afghanistan. It is for this we pray in Pakistan. It is for this we pray all over the world.

**Address of Ms Benazir Bhutto at
International Kashmir Alliance - London**

May 29, 2004

Ladies and gentlemen,

I am privileged to join such a galaxy of delegates at this conference including those from the Indian Administered Kashmir. I congratulate Dr Syed Nazeer Gelani and the International Kashmir Alliance for collecting so many luminaries from far and wide together here in London.

We meet in London at a time when the world is at war, not peace.

The U.S. led coalition occupies a major Islamic Nation, suffering daily attacks and many casualties. No one knows whether Iraq will survive the present phase or disintegrate.

And as I talk to you, the resurgent Taliban are mounting fresh attacks against the Karzai government in Afghanistan. They are mounting attacks against the Coalition forces and the NGOs working there.

In Jammu and Kashmir, despite the present welcome ceasefire at the Line of Control, violence continues.

We must ask ourselves: are we to condemn our future generations to a world of violence, of conflict, of bloodshed, of war, blood and destruction.

This conference, organized to explore peace initiatives, is an important step in building a different kind of world. A world that protects the life, liberty and livelihood of every individual irrespective of their race, religion, gender or political affiliation.

There is an important responsibility on the shoulders of the Kashmiri leadership. This responsibility is all the more grave as the world is involved in the war against terrorism.

We owe it to the Kashmiri people, to people all of South Asia, to make every effort, to pursue peaceful means for the resolution of the outstanding dispute of Jammu and Kashmir. In today's world climate, the Pakistan Peoples Party promotes confidence building for reduction of tension in our region.

In this spirit, the Pakistan Peoples Party welcomed Islamabad's announcement of a unilateral ceasefire along the Line of Control inclusive of Siachen. This measure was taken in response to Prime Minister Vajpayee's twelve point package of confidence building measures.

There are many who believe that in the context of Indo Pak relation, tension can only be reduced when both countries are truly democracies. I am one of those who believe that democracies do not go to war against other democracies. I say this on the basis of Indo Pak history. Since Independence the three wars that took place between India and Pakistan took place under military dictatorships.

And since the destabilization of the democratic government that I led in 1996, India and Pakistan have come close to war three times.

As a witness to the historic Simla Agreement, the agreement which brought peace without either side abandoning its position on Kashmir, my Party and I are committed to a Peace process that keeps in mind the sentiments of the Kashmiri people. It is this commitment which led the PPP and myself to welcome talks between New Delhi and Islamabad despite the military dictatorship in my country.

For the time being, the Indo Pak ceasefire has brought immediate relief on both sides of the Line of Control. Hundreds of villages with thousands of peaceful inhabitants are worst hit during a military standoff. Mines are laid maiming many. Constant firing denies villagers sustenance.

The major impact of this ceasefire relates to Siachin area. Both India and Pakistan spend enormous amounts on maintaining their respective holds on this highest and coldest of battlegrounds.

As Prime Minister, I have seen the transformation of the glaciers into formidable military camps. Estimates claim that the cost to both countries since 1985 is in the region of roughly twenty billion rupees annually. This huge amount is being spent to sustain and counter each others confrontation in the icy peaks. Against this background investment in Kashmir has fallen. Unemployment, poverty and insecurity stalk the land.

The United States, China and others have welcomed the much needed ceasefire in the hope that it will create confidence building.

The Pakistan Peoples Party is the only Federal and broad based political party outside those created by the establishment. The PPP has the singular honour of making a breakthrough on Siachen during Indo Pak talks in 1989. It is the architect of the policy of soft borders on the disputed Kashmir territories. This was enunciated in 1999.

The PPP hopes that intra Kashmir talks can be followed by greater travel links between divided Kashmir as well as talks on how to lessen violence and use of force in the area. The PPP hopes that another ceasefire with militants and the Indian army can be reached as it was in the past. The lessening of violence in the valley can be calibrated to the reduction of Indian troops in the area giving a greater sense of security to the Kashmiri people as well as bolstering trade and economic development.

Public opinion in both countries is building up. Exchanges and visits by Parliamentarians, intellectuals, business community and women's groups are taking place.

The renewed contacts between India and Pakistan are taking place against the backdrop of statements by key officials both in Washington and in London.

We are living in a new world. This world emerged from September 11th with zero tolerance for acts of violence.

Militants believe that without violence there will be no settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir issue. During your discussions, I hope you can address how to have borders that are soft on the ceasefire line and which are also safe from militants.

In war games and scenarios played out by think tanks fictitious volunteers are seen as the Achilles heels of the normalization process. These war games have led security agencies to conclude that the region is "one of the most dangerous places on earth."

Cognizant of these new realities, Islamabad banned some militant groups, froze their accounts and sealed their offices. It is hoped that such groups would not resurface once again when the snows of winter melt.

The struggle of the Kashmiri people has impacted on the world community. The sacrifices of its martyrs are bearing fruit. As New Delhi engages the All Parties Hurriyat Conference in dialogue we stand on the brink of a new phase of history.

My mind goes back to the Islamic Conference in Morocco. There the late Nawabzada Nasrullah Sahib and I worked with other Muslim countries to have the All Parties Hurriyet Conference Recognised as the sole voice of the Kashmiri people. The OIC accepted our diplomatic efforts to form a contact group on Kashmir.

In asking the OIC to recognise the APHC as the sole voice of the Kashmiri people, I was inspired by an earlier Islamic summit. As a teenager I attended the Lahore Summit in 1974. Here the Palestinian Liberation Organization was recognised as the sole voice of the Palestinians. The political impact of a unified leadership is tremendous.

Today APHC, despite some disunity, remains a potent voice of Kashmiri people. It has an important role to play in any political move regarding Jammu and Kashmir.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I thank Mr. Nazir Gillani once again for bringing us together to speak on an issue impacting on the future of one fifth of humanity.

And when a conference takes place in Pakistan, I hope I will be able to attend as I did here. For now, I, like many Kashmiris am an exile.

I recall Maqbool Butt who was hanged in 1984 during my exile. I recall Ayub Thakar who died in exile. I pay tribute to all those who paid the price of their commitment.

Like some of my fellow Kashmiris, I am banned from my country. I am banned from contesting for contesting elections, banned from seeing my husband who is in the eighth year of his imprisonment, banned from entering my ancestral homes, banned from praying at the graves of my Martyred Father and brothers.

I do not despair. In life, an individual makes choices.

I made mine on the last day of my Father's life in a prison that our colonial masters built in the city of Rawalpindi. That was the choice to fight for justice, to fight for human dignity and freedom that must come when people can combat hunger, poverty and illiteracy.

I know that realities change. That a person can go from Prime Minister to prisoner and from prisoner to Prime Minister. I have seen power from the time that I was a child. I must tell you that the sense of satisfaction and joy that I felt never came from the chandeliered halls or the turbaned staff, or the pomp and power of governing a state.

It comes from living a life devoted to high ideals and high principles. It comes from knowing that I fight for a cause greater than my own -- the cause of my people.

The wheel of history turns. There was a time when Prime Minister Gujral fled Jhelum, the city he was born in. It was 1947. Now he, though an Indian, can visit Jhelum. I, though a Pakistani, cannot visit my Larkana. But I know, as you know, that the wheel of fortune must turn.

The wheel of history turns. For individuals and Nations.

God brings night and God brings day. God brings light and God brings darkness. Victory and defeat are in God's hands. In our hands is the decision to live a life that can give us the satisfaction to say, when dying, that we lived a full life, a life devoted to serving humanity and its highest ideals.

As the wheel of history turns for the children of divided Kashmir, I hope each one of us can bequeath them a better future than our bitter past.

Thank you.

**Address of Ms Benazir Bhutto at
International Peace and Role of Religion - London; June 25, 2004**

Ladies and gentlemen!

I thank Mr. Joseph Francis and the organizers of the International Peace and Religion seminar for the invitation to meet with you.

Today's discussion is well timed. The context of 9/11, the controversial Iraq war, the events of Afghanistan, the suicide bombings in Pakistan, the global multinational terrorist organization of Al Qaida, the use of the human body as a weapon inflicting destruction, make us both potential weapons and potential targets.

Complicating the issue is the attempt to give violence a sacred face by articulating it through religious symbols. Although this may be the work of a small group, it has resulted in associating Islam with militancy.

Violence dressed in religious symbols masks historical, social and economic issues simplifying ideologies. To unmask the religious face of terror, we need to separate the terrorists from underlying causes of discontent.

From time to time in history, religion was used to obtain political results.

The Spanish Inquisition is one example. The Crusades another.

Resistance to British colonial rule in the subcontinent was articulated as Muslim subnationalism.

Communism in Central Asia was met with religious resistance in the form of Mujahideen during the Afghan Jihad.

Madrasahs founded during the Zia dictatorship taught war to Afghans, and contributed to the warriors fighting in the name of Islam in Afghanistan.

In India the recent resurgence of the Hindutva ideology changed the secular nature of that country to redefine nationhood in terms of religion.

The Zionist ideology led Israel to justify violence to protect hold of territory.

The anti-Zionist ideology unified Islamic militancy. The splinters from the Afghan war reorganized and joined Middle eastern militarism.

The challenge in addressing the issues of peace is therefore to separate the terrorists from the issues they adopt to gain a wider audience. Of course violence in all forms must be denounced.

Western countries must understand that the anger of the militants is equally directed towards their own governments. No democracy will have militants spilling over, as is now happening in dictatorships.

This is especially the case in Pakistan where militarism is equally directed at the state as it is towards the Western world.

In the search for peace, I see two pillars of a world at peace. The first pillar is the pillar of inter faith dialogue. The second is of promoting democracy. Both these pillars are inter-twined. Democracy promotes safe debate. Dictatorship silences dissent.

The attack on the Twin Towers jettisoned us into the age of Terrorism. Our generation is caught in a war triggered by militants driven by religious extremism.

Suicide bombings and acts of terror can bring a Clash of Civilisations that destroys the world. I have hope in you, the supporters of inter faith dialogue, who are gathered here today. I believe that you can stop the coming destruction through building tolerance.

It is the multi cultural, multi ethnic society where each person is respected regardless of race, religion or gender that can truly lead us on to the path of progress and prosperity.

I have hope in democracy with its values of pluralism. Democracy can permit the flowering of a multi ethnic and multi cultural society. A society where races, religions and genders co-exist peacefully, in harmony to the mutual benefit of all.

When terrorists strike at women, children and innocent worshippers in masjids and churches they do a disservice to Islam. It grieves me when I hear of people killed in the name of religion. It grieves me when I hear of religion used as a weapon to kill, maim and destroy.

I was brought up to believe that Jews, Christians and Muslims are Ahle e Kitaab, that is people who received the message sent from God.

I was brought up to believe that God sent tens of thousands of prophets to spread His message amongst humanity.

We are all God's creatures and it is to God that we will all ultimately return.

Extremist groups are rising in all the key civilizations. There are extremists in the Muslim world, in India, in America. They spew hatred against Muslims, or Jews or Christians. The extremists are united in hate, in intolerance and in sparking religious wars where they can prosper.

I call upon the youth of each of the civilizations to reject the message of hate and embrace the message of peace.

The biggest blessing from God is the blessing of peace. Woe to the land caught in war, in fratricide in bloodshed.

The end of the Cold war has seen much shedding of blood in the name of religion. We saw it when Yugoslavia broke down and Bosnians were killed by Serbs. And we keep seeing it today like helpless spectators.

I do not believe that we are helpless spectators. Each one of us is an agent of change.

I have hope in humanity, in our seniors and in our youngsters that they will reject the victim mentality.

It is by dictating the agenda of understanding, as you are doing today through this Inter-faith seminar that we can build a better world.

Professor Samuel Huntington of Harvard University predicted a clash of civilizations between the West and the Islamic world.

We can prevent this clash from taking place by marginalizing the voices of the extremists.

There is much that binds us in the Judeo-Christian-Muslim heritage.

These three great religions were born in the cradle of the Middle East. The word "Muslim" actually means those who follow the Prophets Moses, Jesus and Mohammad.

This is why the British, during their rule of Muslim countries, referred to the Muslims as Mohammadans.

Abraham is our common father. He built the holiest place of the Muslims known as the Kaaba, the House of God, in Saudi Arabia.

According to the Muslim Holy Book (verse 62 second sura Al Baqara): "Those who believe (in the Koran), And those who follow the Jewish (scriptures), And the Christians and the Sabians, Any who believe in Allah, And the Last Day, And work for righteousness, Shall have their reward with their Lord; On them shall be no fear, Nor shall they grieve".

As in Judaism and Christianity, Islam says Do not commit adultery; Do not cheat; Do not kill your children for fear of poverty; Do not lie; Do not spy; Do not speak ill of anyone; Do not drink alcohol; Do not gamble; Do not hate or envy each other.

Religion is a moral compass that gives its followers faith, hope and a path for the redemption of the soul on the day of Judgement.

Irrespective of our faith, we may distinguish between those who spread hatred and violence in the name of religion and those of us who would live respecting the right to freedom in religious worship.

It worries me that Pakistan, the second largest Muslim country, is under a military dictatorship.

Each country with a military past, including Indonesia, Phillipines and Pakistan, has a problem with terrorism. Terrorism and extremism go hand in hand with dictatorship.

It is through universal freedoms, including the freedom to elect ones own government, to change ones own government, to shape ones own destiny that true stability can come.

Today the West supports a military dictator in the name of stability. I have problems with such support particularly as we witness the lack of stability under the military dispensation.

There is little stability in Quetta, or Karachi or Lahore or Islamabad or anywhere else. Innocent people are killed, the regime too caught up in power struggle to bother about the elements of stability.

We are sitting on a volcano. Unless democracy returns to Pakistan, the fear is that civil war could break out.

The involvement of the military in first raising militants under one dictator and subsequently seeking to crush them under another dictator has culminated in attacks on the armed forces themselves.

The army chief is helpless to protect himself or his corp commander. Officers in WANA are taken hostage. Six hundred and thirty eight policemen were killed since the terrorists were released from the prisons of Karachi in November 2002. These incidents are a few examples of the coming chaos and anarchy unless order is restored.

Order can be restored. For this, the army must go back to the barracks. A professional armed forces under an elected government enjoys prestige, for it is non controversial. It is the political government that absorbs the criticism of policies. And the political government is answerable and accountable to the public through fair elections.

India is much admired for its independent judiciary, its independent election commission, its professional armed forces and for its smooth transition from one government to another. It saddens me that in the case of Pakistan, we are labeled a country of coups, of dictatorships and of violence.

It need not be so if we unite and with one voice fight for the restoration of the Constitution as it existed in September 1999 and for the holding of fair elections under the Pakistan Human Rights Commission.

A democratic and political government respecting human rights is the best guarantee of inter faith understanding, of brotherhood and harmony, the very building blocks of peace, progress and prosperity.

It is truly hypocritical that in the very week of June 2004 that the military dictator extols the virtues of enlightenment in the Washington Post, his minister for Religious Affairs calls upon Muslims to become human bombs. It is the duality of policy, with one tune sung for the international community and another for the domestic audience that has brought about the crisis where the writ of the regime has failed.

While the dictatorship speaks of democracy to the west, it uses the state resources to undermine the elected parliamentarians. While it speaks of freeing the media, it stops advertisements, beats up and forces into exile independent media.

The steps to crush the moderate political parties and silence debate creates a vacuum which the theocratic forces fill.

We can counter such forces by maintaining our commitment to the principles that define us--the principles of racial, gender and religious equality, the principles of political pluralism and tolerance, and the principle of peaceful change through democracy. And, in the end, we shall prevail.

Just as in Christianity, Judaism and other religions, we must always be on guard for those who will manipulate the message of religion for their own narrow political ends, who will distort the essence of pluralism and tolerance for their own extremist agendas.

This is a time of test for the Muslim community. We see ourselves as a largely a peace loving people. The effect of 9/11 has led to our being viewed as violent, intolerant and capable of frenzied killing of innocents. We now feel that we are at the receiving end of world bias and prejudice.

In this context, this inter faith dialogue is an important step in redressing the balance.

I thank the sponsors for holding this seminar, for inviting me to attend it. I thank all of you for attending it for it shows your commitment to tolerance and understanding. I am convinced that we will together beat the forces of terrorism and extremism because ultimately truth must prevail.

Thank you .

Address of Ms Benazir Bhutto

Women's Achievements at Dubai Women's College - Dubai; September 20, 2004

Excellencies, Distinguished Guests and Students,

It is a privilege to address young women from across the world gathered this morning at Dubai Women's College.

The Dubai Women's College is a pioneer centre of academics lighting the path for women's awareness, education and achievement.

I pay tribute to His Highness the President of the United Arab Emirates, to His Highness the Ruler of Dubai and to His Highness the Crown Prince of Dubai whose vision makes the Emirates and Dubai, a desert land steeped with significance, into the gateway of a new Muslim era symbolised with High Towers, Big Projects and even bigger dreams.

I come here this morning at a time when women across the world reach out for excellence.

Today's woman runs on the fast track. She is up in the skies flying planes. She is in a shuttle exploring outer space or deep down in cyber world developing programs. Today's woman is everywhere.

Women are reaching out for excellence despite difficulties that exist in many places.

Women still face the brunt of violence, hunger and poverty. We know women are poorer and work harder to get fewer wages than men.

Yet women excel, despite the odds.

Women achievers in more traditional societies reach goals through harder struggles and often at the cost of personal tragedy.

The strongest women often come from regions of lowest opportunity. Regions which are engulfed in conflict, famine, class and gender discrimination. Women from such areas struggle on several fronts: personal, social, cultural.

They survive and they succeed because of persistence in the face of adversity. They never give up.

Each woman has her identity rooted in family, geography and in a belief system.

My identity begins with the fact that I am a woman, a Pakistani and an Asian. I am also a Muslim woman educated in western universities.

I grew up in a modern educated family that believed in education and gender equality, that believed we live in an interdependent world where communication between continents, cultures and communities is necessary.

There are incremental changes that come with time. I see many ladies drive cars in Dubai and in Pakistan. There was a time when this was frowned upon. My Mother was one of the first women to drive a car in Pakistan. She came in for much criticism.

My Mother's experience shows that we take many rights for granted. Behind each right that women enjoy today there is a story. Just as women of the past pioneered changes, so you, the women leaders of the future, will develop new frontiers for women.

Like most Muslim women, I learnt that Islam came as a religion of emancipation to liberate humanity from the age of darkness. This was a time when female fratricide was practiced. Women were considered little more than the property of men.

I learnt that Islam proclaimed the equality of men and women.

The biggest example for me was Bibi Khadija, the wife of the Prophet of Islam (PBUH). She was a businesswoman, a career woman in her own right. That the Prophet married a career woman was an eye opener for me. I questioned why so many in my society at the time proclaimed that a woman's place was behind the four walls of her house.

As a Muslim woman I focussed on the strong women in Islamic history. After Bibi Khadija died, the Prophet (PBUH) married Bibi Aisha. She led men into war. She is the source of much important material on the life and practices of the Prophet (PBUH). The Prophet's daughter, Bibi Fatima, was a mesmerising speaker. She was wife to the fourth Caliph of Islam as well as Mother to two holy leaders or Imams. Moreover, Islam taught that paradise lies at the feet of the Mother.

Such Islamic history was important for my own validation. It was important for me to see that modernity and religion were compatible. I felt uncomfortable with much of what I saw around me in the traditional society. I noticed that despite the importance Islam gave to women, often women were treated like second class citizens. The rights of property, of child custody, of alimony, of career opportunities, of equality before the law given by Islam were denied them.

I realised that I was one of the lucky ones. Education allowed me to learn about my rights as a Muslim woman, rights that others in my society were denied by tradition and centuries of prejudice.

I focussed on the Islamic message of gender equality as the guiding principle in my life. I thought discrimination wrong, my life's purpose was born in resisting it where-ever I saw it.

If women are backward in Muslim countries or subjected to primitive methods of existence, it is not, in my view, due to religion. It is because pre Islamic traditions, or neighbouring non Islamic tradition, slowly crept back into societies following the death of the Prophet (PBUH) and the four Caliphs, or Muslim leaders, that came after him. Such cultural and social traditions now pose the biggest challenge to Muslim women as we seek to regain our lost rights.

Forced marriages, for example, are not permitted in Islam. Yet they take place due to traditional values. The circumcision of women in parts of Africa is another hotly debated issue.

My country Pakistan was the first Muslim country to elect a woman Prime Minister. This election in 1988 was a catalyst for Muslim women everywhere.

As Prime Minister, I invited women parliamentarians from all over the Muslim world. Together we marvelled at how many we were, although we did not know it until we met. We gained strength from each other.

My Government had lifted the ban on Pakistani women taking part in sporting events. We decided to hold an All Women's Olympics. This year a Pakistani woman took part in the Olympics in Greece bringing pride to all our people.

We appointed women Judges to sit on judicial benches with their brother judges to dispense justice.

Believing that economic independence is key to self sufficiency and reliance for a woman, we opened a woman's bank, the first of its kind, in 1989 that allowed

women to bank with other women and to get good financial advice. Now there are women banks in so many parts of the world.

Each journey begins with one small step. Never hesitate to take that small step if, in your conscience, you believe it to be right. It takes courage to do what is right.

During my life, I faced prejudice in many forms. I was bitterly opposed by traditional men who felt threatened by the presence of a woman in politics in a Muslim society. However, I was lucky to be considered a sister by the vast majority of the people of Pakistan who stood by me and who made my victory possible. It was a victory for women everywhere, a victory I couldn't have achieved without Pakistani men.

Men and women, together, are important to the direction that society takes. We are two sides of the same coin. Our families, communities and societies can flourish when together we build a consensus on our future directions.

My Father was one of the special people who believed in equality of each individual, irrespective of race, religion or gender. It was my Father who inspired me and encouraged me. He gave me the strength and confidence to be a person in my own right.

At the tender age of sixteen, he sent me to Harvard University to seek knowledge. He followed the Prophet's (PBUH) saying that one should go far and wide to seek knowledge.

Even though we have come far, women still have a long way to go. There are many more glass ceilings that must be broken. And women everywhere, Muslim and non Muslim, still find that because we are women, the obstacles are often greater

The demands are greater.

The barriers are greater

And the double standards are greater too.

As I explained, the obstacles and barriers are not due to religion. The fundamental ethos of Islam is tolerance, dialogue, and consensus.

Extremists and extremism refute the central ethos of Islam which is equality, especially the equality between genders.

Not long ago, the world witnessed the phenomenon of the Taliban.

The Taliban became a symbol of resistance to modernization and of repression towards women.

More recently it was distressing to see the name of Islam being used by pro Chechen rebels in Beslan, Russia who slaughtered children. The Prophet (PBUH) of Islam cautioned men in war to spare children, women and old men.

Today, the Islamic world stands at the crossroads. The winds of change are blowing. Education during the last fifty years has opened up minds. The information age has opened up knowledge. Our young people ask questions and they deserve answers.

At this time of fluidity, there is a debate within the Muslim world. There are a handful of extremists that believe in terror for political ends. There are the traditionalists who fear losing their identity as the social forces unleashed by modernisation sweep the world. And there are the moderates that believe in the Islamic principle of Ijtehaad. Ijtehaad means independent reasoning and empowers moderates to meet the demands of a transparent age.

It's important to recognise that while the Muslim world bows its head before one God, in one direction, believing in the finality of the last Prophet, there are many debates on social and political issues within it.

It would be a tragedy if the failure to make a distinction between terrorists who use the name of religion and Muslims that reject terrorism led to a clash of civilisations.

I see in your visit here great hope for the future, a future where the children of different continents reject stereotypes to reach out and build bridges of understanding.

I am optimistic. I see great progress for women everywhere. One of the most dramatic changes for women is in Afghanistan where women are taking leadership positions in education, health, government and all other fields.

In Iran, a woman human rights activist went on to win the Nobel Peace Prize.

In war zones, areas of conflict and those of famine, women show us their hidden strength.

Women are nurturers, women give birth to life. The emergence of women as key players in leadership positions will transform society as we know it today.

My message to you, the young generation to whom the torch of leadership will pass, is to focus on education, on health, on social uplift and on governance.

Through this focus, women everywhere can overcome the gender gap that still exists between countries and within countries.

We live in an age of change, an age where old taboos are giving way to new standards.

From the shadows, women are emerging to play a role that determines the social status and standing of their countries.

Through the centuries, the story of woman is the story of courage and of hope.

It is this story of courage and hope that my generation's hands to yours as you dream dreams and reach for an excellence that is richly deserved.

**Addresses Pakistani community in Houston:
Ms Bhutto says she could deal with terrorism without Uniform
Houston - October 17, 2004**

"As a former Prime Minister, I can say with confidence that I could deal with the issues of terrorism as President of Pakistan without having to demand being made Chief of Army Staff too".

The former Prime Minister Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto said this while addressing an Iftar party held by the Pakistani community in Houston, USA on Saturday.

She is currently visiting USA, to address select gatherings and meet Pakistani community.

Pleading for free elections she said, "A strong, stable Pakistan is dependent on freedom which means free elections, free judiciary, free press and free political activities."

She said that the issues of poverty were neglected in Pakistan as the country is gripped in a power struggle between the forces of dictatorship and the forces of democracy and added that democracy and development go hand in hand.

She said that the dismissal of her government was brought about by the shenanigans of the establishment and since then the country drifted into a nightmare of military dictatorship, terrorism, violence, suicide bombers and economic stagnancy.

The former Prime Minister denounced terrorism saying that it was the enemy of all humanity as it terrorised society as a whole.

Recalling the days when the terrorists held Karachi hostage she said that the PPP government was able to end the insurgency because of the support of the people of Karachi.

"The forces of sectarianism, violence, ethnicity, terrorism, Klashnikov culture and drug trade proliferated when Pakistan was under a dictatorial system".

She said that the Patriot Act has led to racial profiling and many Pakistanis feel that they are now suspected by virtue of being Pakistani. This can change if the people of Pakistan can take their destiny into their own hands, she said.

The former Prime Minister said that the constitution forbids Army Chief from indulging in politics and quoted various article from the constitutions.

The President enters into office after an election under Article 41 (3). The electoral process is a political process, which the COAS cannot engage in, she said.

The President may summon and prorogue either House of Parliament may address the Houses and may send messages to either House to be taken into consideration (Article 56). The Constitution forbids the COAS from advising Parliament or the nation.

Under the 17th amendment, the President decides who to make Prime Minister in his discretion calling a member whom he thinks has the majority to form the government. The army chief cannot constitutionally do this.

The President can dissolve the National Assembly under Article 58 (2) (b) as well as approve the dissolution of Provincial Assembly under Article 112 (2). A COAS doing so would be in breach of his Constitutional oath and of the Constitution itself, she said.

Under Article 48 (6) the President can order a referendum overreaching Parliament and going directly to the people but an army chief cannot take such a step. Under Article 101 the President appoints the Governors of Provinces but the army chief cannot do that. Thus the powers of the president if exercised by the army chief amounts to martial law and puts paid to the whole idea that Pakistan is moving towards a democratic dispensation, she said.

She said that there is also the issue of a pledge. "A pledge, or a promise, and one made to Parliament, should hold sanctity". Mr. Musharaf promised the people and the international community that he would take off his uniform. The failure to do so could be misinterpreted by the many different international players that Pakistan has to deal with, she said.

About corruption the former Prime Minister said that corruption is rampant in Pakistan under military rule and the NAB is being used as a political arm by the regime. NAB has spent billions on investigating corruption charges relating to 1993, more than a decade ago--and it hasn't come up with one conviction against a political leader, she said and added that at the same time the NAB refuses to investigate the corruption of the last eight years.

Unfortunately, NAB is a tool of the powerful intelligence agencies to re-engineer Pakistan's political picture, she said.

Commending the Pakistani community in the USA saying that it was due to the efforts of the Pak community that the Pakistan specific Pressler Amendment was removed. Secific laws are unjust laws, she said and added that she faced many Benazir specific laws that failed to harm her standing as the October elections showed.

Emphasising the need of good relations with India, she said that both countries need to signal the world community that they are competent to deal with outstanding issues and that South Asia can stop the slide towards becoming one of the most dangerous places in the world.

Cognizant of the fact of a bitter dispute over Kashmir, and the huge amount of blood shed--eighty thousand Kashmiris, 3000 Pakistani soldiers during Kargil and unknown number of Indian troops--the PPP believes that confidence building steps with New Delhi are necessary, she said.

In particular PPP welcomes the first visit by Pakistani journalists to Kashmir, which took place this October. "Such steps might appear small but each incremental step forward was a small ray of hope out of the tunnel of darkness in which so many Kashmiris, as well as Pakistanis and Indians, had lost their lives".

The Party Chairperson also recounted the achievements of the PPP government in attracting investments, creating jobs, doubling the revenues and spending on social uplift.

PPP tripled the growth rate while growth rate now has stagnated and forty per cent of the people of Pakistan live on less than one dollar a day, she said. "This is why we are calling for Pakistan to make a plan to return to Democracy. And democracy needs your support".

Pakistan Peoples Party is fighting for a Federal, democratic, egalitarian Pakistan where people could progress and prosper and where the youth were free from unemployment, hunger and malnutrition and worse, hopelessness and frustration. She said that the Quaid e Awam gave people of Pakistan dignity, self-respect and honour, "values that no one could steal from the people".

Musharraf exploiting war on Terror
Global Institute for Leadership
October 19, 2004

Palm Desert, California

It is amazing to be in America two weeks before a Presidential election. It is welcome to be in a democracy where there are actually real elections taking place, where people can freely vote. I wish someday we will be able to say the same thing about my homeland, Pakistan. That is the goal on which I focus all my energies. That is the drive that keeps me going every day. That is the commitment that brings me to California today.

Throughout the world, these are times of uncertainty, tension, conflict and great danger. The era of peace for which we prayed, and which after the collapse of communism was within our grasp, has now tragically become a time of war.

Stability has been replaced by chaos.

The world has changed dramatically since the attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon.

America is the oldest and greatest democracy of the world.

As a teenager, I learnt about modernity, diversity, and democracy here in your country.

I returned to Pakistan with the dream to help my country prosper on these democratic principles, and on the empowering and revolutionary concept of equal rights for women in society.

But tragically, I found that the fanatics and the dictators dread modernity, diversity and democracy. They fear the empowerment of the People of Pakistan -- they fear literacy, equality and above all they desperately fear the spread of information in society. They use religion to justify their politics, to justify dictatorship and to manipulate a clash of civilizations under which they thrive.

I do not believe that such a clash of civilizations is inevitable.

Contrary to what some people believe, Islam is a monotheistic religion very much part of the Judeo Christian heritage. Abraham, Moses and Jesus are the prophets of Islam as much as they are revered in Judaism and Christianity.

It is ignorance and fanaticism that seeks to create a clash of civilization amongst East and West, amongst Islam and the rest of the world. Terrorists who use commercial airliners as bombs aim at much more than the death of thousands -- they aim to provoke a global, deadly confrontation between continents, nations, and religions.

I know the terrorists of Al Qaeda. I battled with many of them. Across Pakistan, exploiting our religion, they preached a message that teaches hate and hopelessness.

As a woman, I was a threat, a clear and present danger to their designs.

As a democrat, I was their opposite. But above all, as someone who offered hope to our people -- education, jobs, communication and modernity -- I was a dangerous obstacle to the forces of hate.

Under my government Pakistan integrated into the global economy that the fanatics so fear. We became one of the ten emerging capital markets of the world, attracting billions of dollars in foreign investment, particularly in power generation.

We eradicated polio in our country. We dramatically reduced infant mortality.

The WHO awarded me a Gold Medal for our assault on polio.

Despite the constraints of a political system rigged against democrats, and a social system biased against women, as Prime Minister of Pakistan I used my office to reverse centuries of discrimination against women.

We increased literacy by one-third, most dramatically amongst young girls.

We built over 48,000 primary and secondary schools during my two terms in office. It pains me that this education program targeting girls was dismantled by my successors who cut the education budget.

We brought down the population growth rate by establishing women's health clinics across our Nation.

We outlawed domestic violence and established special women's police forces to protect and defend the women of Pakistan.

We appointed women judges to our nation's benches for the first time in our history. That affirmative action program for women in the judiciary has been undermined. A female judge was denied promotion to Pakistan's High Court in a major reversal for female leadership in the judiciary. She was retired when she should, under the law, have gone on to become the first female judge on the Bench of Pakistan's Supreme Court.

We instituted a new program of hiring women police officers to investigate crimes of domestic violence against the women of Pakistan. That special police force has been dismantled.

My government condemned honor killing, the murder of women who chose to marry without their guardian's permission. And now my party has moved a bill in Parliament making these honor killings illegal. Sadly but not unsurprisingly, Pakistan's military junta has tried to jettison the bill with a counter proposal that does not effectively address the issue.

The Government I led lifted the ban on women taking part in sports – nationally and internationally. This year a Pakistani woman took part in the Olympics in Greece bringing pride to all the people of Pakistan and to women everywhere. We persuaded the armed forces and security services to hire women in their institutions.

A special Women's Development Bank was created to guarantee small business loans to women entrepreneurs, because I firmly believed that economic justice would build political justice. It was a bank run by women for women- although men were allowed to keep their money in it.

There is a moral crisis in Pakistan today.

Social and economic inequality is a ticking bomb.

The stakes could not be higher. To Islam at the crossroads, a modern Pakistan was one fork in the road, fanaticism and ignorance the other.

In Islam dictatorship is never condoned, nor is cruelty. Beating, torturing and humiliating women is un-Islamic. Denying education to girls violates the very first word of the Holy Book: "Read." According to our religion, those who commit cruel acts are condemned to destruction.

Afghanistan is an example of how abandoning the principles of human rights and democracy can have the most tragic consequences.

The overall policy of standing against Soviet aggression in Afghanistan was right. Yet the early decisions to arm, train, supply and legitimize the most extreme fanatics gave birth to the 21st century terrorism now swirling around us.

Ironically and tragically, these militant elements gave birth to Al Qaeda, and the US Stinger missiles are now pointed at US commercial jetliners.

If the elections that were held in Afghanistan last week were held in Afghanistan in 1990, there would have been no Taliban, no Al Qaeda and no 911.

Just as democracies do not make war against other democracies, democracies also do not sponsor international terrorism.

The goal of the international community's foreign policy agenda must always be to simultaneously promote stability and to strengthen democratic values.

Not selectively but universally.

General Musharraf is exploiting the war on terror to solidify his junta. The world must remember that until he found it expedient to align with the US against terrorism, his regime was supporting the Taliban. Even as he bans militant groups to demonstrate good faith to the rest of the world, those same groups spring up under another name. It seems that the writ of the state has failed.

The United States and the rest of the world must remember that Pakistan has an extra-constitutional military government with no democratic legitimacy. So-

called elections that took place in Pakistan in October 2002 were exercises in fraud; The EU described them as "a deeply flawed exercise".

There were banners and balloons. But like a Potemkin village, it was all an illusion. There was never any intention on allowing the will of the people to be expressed.

This is tragic, for two distinct reasons. First, a democratic Pakistan is the best guarantee of the triumph of moderation and modernity among one billion Muslims at the crossroads of our history. And second, the alternative of a long-term nuclear-armed Pakistani dictatorship has consequences that could make September 11th look like a mere prelude to an even more horrific future for the civilized world.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Mine is not the simple life I dreamed of growing up in Pakistan and going to school at Harvard and Oxford.

I am asked how as a Muslim woman in a traditional society, I became Prime Minister of Pakistan.

In fact, circumstances propelled me on to the road of leadership.

The gauntlet of leadership was thrown down before me and I had no choice but to pick it up. And once I picked it up, I focused my life and energy like a laser-beam on bringing democracy and human rights to my people.

I found that leadership is demanding. Life often demands difficult decisions. I had to choose between family and duty, and I had no real choice. The stakes were too high to allow any obstacles to success. Often personal happiness was sacrificed in pursuit of national and political goals. Sad, but necessary.

Leadership is a commitment to an idea, to principles, to fundamental human values.

My commitment to democracy, to fundamental human rights, to modernity, helped me walk the high mountains of success as well as the low valleys of imprisonment and exile.

Leadership demands a price from the individual and it also demands a price from the family.

I was in America during the Watergate crisis and the impeachment proceedings against President Nixon. Above all, in America during the Watergate crises I saw the awesome power of the people to change policies, change leaders, and change history.

I marveled at how a people could bring down a government. I lived in a dictatorship. Those criticizing the President ended up in prison or ended up facing assassination attempts.

At Oxford, I became the first female foreigner to be elected as President of the Oxford Union.

The Oxford Union reflects the British Parliament.

It was there that I learned to debate, slowly gaining confidence before an audience. It was there that I learned to further focus my energy into attaining specific and definable goals. It was there that I learned that I could beat the odds. It was there that I learned not to accept "no" for an answer, and in the words of Bobby Kennedy, to ask, why not?

I returned to Pakistan in 1977 hoping to join the Foreign Service. I dreamt of becoming the Ambassador to Washington.

Within a week, my life changed dramatically. A military coup took place. My Mother awakened me in the early hours. Army tanks had surrounded the Prime Minister's House.

My Father was taken away by the military to an unknown destination.

He was released and returned to our family home in Karachi. But then the army raided the house again and took him away. He was released again and then rearrested. He was finally hanged amidst international outrage.

A few hours before his murder, my Mother and I went to the death cell to see him and bid him farewell. It was then in that final meeting that I decided that come what may, I would fight for democracy and fundamental rights in Pakistan.

During the long night of military dictatorship, which lasted eleven years, my Mother and I were imprisoned time and again. My Mother was baton charged and denied proper treatment. Today she suffers from a form of Alzheimer's her doctors claim was brought on by that head wound.

I spent nearly six years behind bars, often in solitary confinement. During the summers it was unbearably hot and during the winters it was brutally cold. The conditions in the cell were primitive. Mosquitoes, flies, cockroaches, dust storms and dryness were constant companions as was loneliness and a lack of communication with the outside world.

By the time I was allowed into exile through international pressure, I was anorexic. My hearing and eyesight were affected forever. My face muscles hurt when I talked. They had atrophied through the years of silence.

Through this dark night of terror, young men were lashed for shouting to restore democracy. Others were imprisoned, tortured or hanged. However, the flame of freedom was never extinguished. It lived on fed by the sacrifices of so many.

My family background and long years of imprisonment made me the rallying point for the democratic movement. I returned to Pakistan in 1986 welcomed by millions of Pakistanis who lined the route from the airport and demanded an end to dictatorship.

And when I got married and expected my first child in 1988, the military dictator called for elections. He thought a pregnant woman could not campaign. He was wrong. I could, and I did, and, with the support of the brave people of Pakistan, I was elected Prime Minister of Pakistan.

My election broke the myth that a woman could not be elected Prime Minister in a Muslim country. It was a severe set back for the forces of fanaticism that wished to build a theocratic society not only in Pakistan, but also across the Muslim world.

It stirred a debate about gender, religion and politics. The lead scholar in Saudi Arabia issued a Fatwa, a religious edict, against my election. Many claimed that I had usurped a man's place in Islam and must be removed. But other religious scholars supported me.

I especially remember the religious scholars in Egypt, Syria and Yemen. The religious scholar in Yemen said that Islam permitted a woman to govern a Muslim country. He said the Holy book of the Muslims referred to the rule of Queen Sheba in laudatory terms noting that her reign brought prosperity to her people.

But the fanatics in Pakistan were deeply upset at my election. They dreamt of spreading the ideological frontiers of Islam through Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia to the borders of Europe.

They turned to Osama Bin Laden for help. They called him back from Saudi Arabia and asked him for ten million dollars to bring down the Government I led.

Until today the fanatics who believe in a war between the West and Islam, fear my popularity and the strength of my Party. They believe that a democratic Pakistan, at peace with its neighbors and with itself internally, is a threat to their war against the West.

They destabilized the government I led in 1996.

It was during the eclipse of my government that the Taliban seized all of Afghanistan. It was after my overthrow that Al Qaeda was established in Afghanistan and set up camps to train, recruit and arm young men from across the Muslim world. Two years after my overthrow, in 1998, Osama Bin Laden declared war on the west from the soil of Afghanistan. Three years later, the Trade Centers were attacked.

And although Pakistan's military dictator joined the war against terror following the ultimatum by President Bush to stand up and be counted as friend or foe, supporters of extremists groups still hold influential positions in his regime, terrorists operate in our tribal territories, and in parts of our country bordering Afghanistan.

The Taliban have regrouped and are mounting fresh attacks on the Karzai government. Despite several operations in our tribal areas, the terrorists largely escaped. The innocent civilian population paid a heavy price. Their homes were bombed and their children killed when the objective should have been good intelligence and targeted action.

My Party and I continue to be persecuted. My husband was arrested the night my government was overthrown that night on November 4, 1996, eight years back. He is a hostage to my political struggle. He has served his years in prison, often in solitary confinement, although he has not been convicted of a crime and the courts have ordered him released. They have taken away the best years of his life. Each time he is acquitted of a baseless charge, he is re-indicted under even more absurd accusations. He has been tortured too. He nearly lost his life under physical torture in 1999. He suffers from a crippling spinal disease that remains untreated in Musharraf's dungeons. I have not seen him for five years.

Of our seventeen years marriage, he has spent eleven behind bars without being convicted of any crime.

I am told that he will be freed if I announce my retirement from politics. I know that my duty to my people comes first, for the sake of my children and all the children of Pakistan. My duty to Pakistan's democratic struggle is one baptized in blood. During this struggle, my father and both of my brothers were killed. Their legacy focuses my drive. Their spirit empowers me. I have come too far to turn back now.

I have three children. My youngest was three when the government was overthrown. I empathize with single Mothers. It's tough holding a job and taking care of small children without the presence of a Father. I chose their schools, took them to the hospital when they fell down and needed treatment, sat with them through their fevers, helped them with homework.

And through the years, as the older ones became teenagers, I learnt about Harry Potter even as I tried to teach them about Alexander the Great and the ancient Indus Valley Civilisation in whose shadow my family lived for centuries.

My own experiences at Harvard and Oxford taught me that if women are to be defined by their own abilities, they need an education that empowers them. I urge women all over the world not to accept the status quo, not to accept "no" for an answer. It is critical that women—whether in California or Kabul or Kirkuk (Keer-cook)—refuse to accept traditional roles and traditional constraints.

Acquiescing to a tradition of subjugation of mothers and daughters—can no longer be accepted.

We fight against terrorism, and we fight against the bigotry and intolerance that will confine and constrain and victimize in the generations ahead.

Victimization of civil society and the concept of long-term peace are mutually exclusive.

The denial of human rights is a bomb that ultimately explodes.

These are difficult times. Freedom is under assault. Democracy is under assault. Criminal terrorists hijack my religion just as they hijack America's planes.

The solutions will not be quick or simple. But if we maintain our commitment to the principles that define us -- the principles of racial, gender and religious

equality, the principles of political pluralism and tolerance, and the principle of peaceful change through democracy – we shall in the end prevail.

If we focus our energy, refuse to be distracted from what is important, if we act decisively and bravely and refuse to accept arbitrary constraints, then in the end our single-mindedness can wear down even the strongest enemy, even the highest barrier.

Let us remember that the Prophet of Islam (PBUH) married a businesswoman. She was his only wife until she died. Islam introduced divorce, child custody and alimony for the first time in civilization. Islam came as a message of emancipation that put an end to the degradation of women and the burial of the girl child.

I say that to the fanatics and the fundamentalists: This is my religion. Nothing you do or say can change that reality.

It is this tradition of Islam that allowed me my battle for political and human rights. It strengthens me today in this hour of crisis for my family, my nation and myself.

Today in Pakistan, the veil of repression has descended across our people.

We have become accustomed to attempts to use the politics of personal destruction to turn back the course of democracy, human rights and women's rights in our homeland. It didn't work then and it will not work now.

The dictator's attacks on me are really attacks on the policies I espouse, and the issues I advance. And thus in Pakistan the causes of women's rights, human rights, press freedom and democracy fall backwards into the dark chasms of a past era.

The new century must, for once and for all, be an era where honor and dignity are protected in peace, and in war, where women have economic freedom and independence, where women are not defined by their fathers or husbands, but by their own achievements, where they are equal partners in peace and development.

Even as we catalogue, organize and hopefully attain our goals, step by step by step, all of those around the world who are committed to the common causes of human rights, women's rights and peace, must be vigilant for "freedom has be re-made and re-earned in every generation."

In the time it took for me to speak to you this morning, over one thousand children starved to death on this planet.

As long as these basic violations of human rights are allowed to continue, none of us are free.

Not in Palm Desert, not in Karachi, not in Baghdad.

The question before us is whether we are willing to fight for what we believe, whether we are willing to risk our personal comfort to confront bigotry and intolerance and inequality wherever we find it.

There will always be pressures to do what is convenient, the path of least resistance, what is safe and conservative.

But leadership is not rooted in safety; it rather is a product of boldness.

Modern leaders often take public opinion polls to decide on courses of policy.

The forces of dictatorship and extremism murdered my father, Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, two decades ago. I recall vividly those dark and tragic days, with my father languishing in a dark prison, living in the most inhumane conditions, with the world helpless to stop his murder.

But he remained courageous to the end; even in the hours before his death he was the consummate LEADER.

In 1979, from the horror of his death cell, my father wrote:

"Every generation has a central concern, whether to end war, erase racial injustice, or improve the conditions of working people". And he said that "The possibilities are too great, the stakes too high, to bequeath to the coming generation only the prophetic lament of Tennyson—"Ah, what shall I be at fifty. If I find the world so bitter at twenty."

So even at this time of war, even more me at this time of tyranny in my nation, let us not be bitter. Let us instead do what we can to build a better world.

It is that purpose in life, that gives me the strength to continue to face the political obstacles in life.

I know that the wheel of fortune turns, just as night changes to day. That the days of dictatorship will surely end. They will end because the fight for freedom is the fight for justice. Ultimately, justice always triumphs.

Thank you ladies and Gentleman.

**Poverty, Inequality and Development: Is the International Model Working?
Stresa near Milan (Italy) by Ms Benazir Bhutto
22 October 2004**

I compliment President Gorbachev for focussing on the issue of poverty at this session of the World Political Forum.

We are gathered here today to seek change by challenging a human history that has always known poverty and suffering. Poverty is particularly distressing in that it exists side by side with enormous wealth.

We are familiar with the bad news. By the year 2020, of the world's population of 8 billion people, six and a half billion will live in the developing world. Three billion will struggle, either below or above subsistence. The majority of the marginalized will live in urban slums with twenty big cities having populations exceeding ten million. These cities will be stuffed to the brim with unemployment, crime, delinquency and disease. My city of Karachi with Lagos, New Delhi, Dhaka, Nairobi and others will be typical crucibles of such settlements. Already in military run Pakistan we suffer from a 40 % poverty index. Another 30 % live on less than two dollars a day.

Meanwhile five Nations account for almost 60% of the World's GNP. While the income of the world's 20% rich increases, the income of the world's fifty percent poor falls. The combined income of 300 individual billionaires equals the income of 2.7 billion persons representing 45 % of the world's population. One report found that 20 years ago CEOs made an average of 40 times more than factory workers. Last year it was 400 times more and it is now climbing to a multiple of 500. This is not the way the world was supposed to be. The peace dividend that was to come with the collapse of the bi-polar world never came.

Today debt repayment far exceeds aid. In 2000 lower-income countries paid creditors more than \$100 billion dollars, triple received in aid grants that year. From 1992 to 2000, debt repayments as a share of a poor country's earnings rose from 14 to 19 % in repayment of principal loan. Interest repayment rose from 8% to 10%.

I believe the incidence of poverty is directly related to issues of governance.

There is a school of thought that believes the alleviation of poverty lies in authoritarianism. They point to the Asian tigers of the twentieth century.

I do not subscribe to this view. Indonesia, Philippines and Pakistan are three countries that had prolonged periods of authoritarianism. Authoritarianism failed to provide a golden era of economic prosperity. Instead it made the transition to democracy, accountability and transparency all the more difficult. Authoritarianism left a legacy of weak political institutions, inexperienced political leadership, a crony capitalist class, powerful militaries, ruthless intelligence agencies, violent ethnic and sectarian groups, distorted press, disempowered citizens and gross poverty. Significantly, authoritarianism in Indonesia, Philippines, Pakistan (as well as other countries) also created a culture predicated on the use of force. It is unsurprising that terrorism emerged in countries where power flowed from force rather than the majesty of law.

In Pakistan debt servicing and military expenditure consumed all income. We had to borrow to spend on health and education sinking deeper into the debt trap. In 2001 Pakistan joined the war against terror. It's debts were re-scheduled. Geo-strategic currents bought us a temporary reprieve. But that reprieve is not being used to reverse the fundamental fault-lines of our economy. This brings me to a major point—governance. Countries that spend huge amounts on militaries and have non-democratic systems can not hope to combat poverty. Countries with dictatorship or authoritarian rule tend to run up huge debts.

Often governments and financial institutions loan huge amounts to dictators. This is done for political or strategic reasons. A blind eye is turned towards how this money is spent or mis-spent. However, as soon as the short-term goals are met and democracy is restored, financial institutions come down hard pushing for fiscal responsibility.

As in the case of Pakistan, when the dictator falls in the dust, the new democratic government is forced to de-accelerate the economy through harsh macro-management. Reducing budget deficits quickly puts unrelenting pressure on popular governments. It destabilises democracy. It allows for powerful, entrenched establishments to re-emerge in the form of autocracy or outright dictatorship. The system of governance is hit and the malaise of poverty increases.

The end result is that dictatorships have fuller treasuries than democrats. But the dictators treasuries are not spent on poverty alleviation.

Some times the periods between democracy and authoritarian rule is too short for the public to tell the difference in the quality of life. The masses can then

become disillusioned with democracy. Dictatorial forces indulge in propaganda against democrats. Disillusioned from democracy and dictatorship, the dangers of the radicalisation of the masses. For example, in Pakistan, parties that are sympathetic to the Taliban and Al-Qaeda claim that neither democracy nor military dictatorship works and that theocratic rule should, “be given a chance”. Thus when people feel alienated from the democratic model of development, they can choose another system that is even worse.

Despite the skewered position, democrats still do better as Pakistan’s experience shows. Growth, investment and revenue rates are all better under democrats.

In its Millennium Declaration, the United Nations General Assembly set the goal promised to halve the number of people in the world without access to drinkable water by 2015 as well as other laudable goals. The question is: how to meet these promises?

I would identify three areas that can alleviate poverty:

- First democratic political systems of national governance that the international community could support and encourage.
- Second, economic support by the international community.
- Third equitable international trading practices.

In dealing with the first point, namely, systems of governance, I would stress that democracy and development go hand in hand. Certainly this is the experience of the people of Pakistan. Democracy has many facets. It is the holding of fair and impartial elections, the smooth transition of power, an independent judiciary, an impartial investigative process, a well trained and a neutral police force. Democracies need peaceful borders to cut down on military expenditures. Diversion of financial resources to women’s development, literacy, increase in water availability, health, a crime free society is critical to internal stability. In the absence of such factors, there is the danger of failing states, mafias, ethnic strife and violence amidst a sea of poverty.

The second factor is an international commitment to poverty alleviation. The G-8 once discussed committing 0.7 percent of its GNP to poverty alleviation. Other measures were tabled including a tax on military sales. The sins of the father can not be visited on the children. Some form of international commitment towards debt relief is needed in the battle to fight hunger to reduce poverty to meet the millennium development goals.

The third factor is balancing free trade with a moral imperative. We need to work together to balance free trade with a social safety net. We need to focus on how the market changes and train a work force to meet the markets requirements. If we are able to tackle these three areas, it is my firm belief that history will no longer have to bear mute testimony to the ravages of poverty.

It is time the international community took heed of these trends so that inequality as a mode of economic, class and gender experience slows its headlong march into local conflict and global fault-lines.

Fanatics seeking to bring about Clash of Civilization: Bhutto says Path to Leadership Strewn with Thorns
Indiana University – USA, November 06, 2004

Former Prime Minister and Chairperson Pakistan Peoples Party, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto has expressed concern that fanatics and extremists would try to bring about a clash of religions and cultures and expressed the hope that this could be averted.

She said this while addressing Indianapolis Colloquium at Indian University in the USA on Friday on "Women Position in Islamic Societies".

She said that few people realize that Islam is a monotheistic religion and part of the traditions of Hazrat Abraham. Abraham, Moses and Jesus are the prophets of Islam as much as they are revered in Judaism and Christianity, she said. The former Prime Minister said that health, education, literacy, gender equality and freedom of press as well as respect of labour and peasant rights were keys to develop any society. However, such policy promotions needed peaceful borders, which is why PPP government worked for defusing tensions with its neighbours.

She said that as a woman leader she was particularly concerned about the plight of her sisters. This led her government to appoint women judges to the judiciary and had she remained in office, today there would have been women judges in the Supreme Court of Pakistan. She recalled that the PPP instituted a new program of hiring women police officers to investigate crimes of domestic violence against the women of Pakistan.

"The development of that police force had been stunted following the undemocratic end of the PPP government."

She said that she and her Party believe in an open and transparent society adopting technology and information to modernize society. She said that fax

machines, satellite dishes, student unions, labour unions, women taking part in sports and other informative and technological activities were banned before her government and it was the PPP government which lifted ban on these to modernize Pakistani Society.

Democracy in Pakistan was important because an Islamic world at the crossroads, a modern Pakistan would be an inspiration whereas otherwise the danger was that fanaticism and ignorance could grow.

She said that had elections in Afghanistan been held in 1990 as they were recently held, perhaps the Taliban and Al Qaeda would never have emerged. She urged the international community to promote stability by strengthening democratic values.

She said that she had known both successes and setbacks but that she had never wavered from the commitment she made in the death cell with her Father. This was a commitment to fight for democracy and human rights and that she would continue to do so.

"The path of leadership was strewn with thorns". She said that often personal happiness had to be sacrificed for national causes. She said that she felt sad that because of her choices, her family had been made to suffer too. However, she had to carry this burden of sadness because of her commitment to a democratic and modern future for her people. She said that she was brought up to fight injustice, promote freedom and safeguard the rights of the weak and dispossessed.

She said that both her governments were destabilized by extremist elements who did not believe in democracy or a government led by a woman. She said that the judicial processes were violated to wage a psychological war against her, her family and her Party.

She said that she knew that her duty to her country and people came first. "My duty to Pakistan's democratic struggle is one baptized in blood. During this struggle, my father and both of my brothers were killed. Their legacy focuses my drive. Their spirit empowers me. I have come too far to turn back now".

Expressing her resolve to fight for the rights of her people, she said that she was taught not to take "No" for an answer but to answer to the call of conscience. Hence she refused to take No for an answer when people said that as a foreign woman she could not be elected President of the Oxford Union, or that as a woman expecting a baby she could not campaign in an election or that as a woman in a Muslim society she could not run for chief executive.

She was grateful to the men and women of Pakistan for supporting her when she challenged traditions to modernize Pakistan and bring it prosperity through modernization. She recalled that as the Prime Minister of Pakistan she appeared before an historic Joint Session of the United States Congress in 1989. She said that in her address, her most important sentence was, YES YOU CAN! She said that this short sentence of three words meant so much to her as she had survived the murder of her Father and brothers, her Mother and husband's imprisonment and gone from prison to Prime Minister because, "Yes, you can if you refuse to take No for an answer".

Pakistan's political, financial and social sectors dominated by military under dictatorship

Ms Bhutto addresses writers, intellectuals in US, Florida - March 08, 2005

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is my privilege to join you in the United States just four months after the Presidential election.

This American election heralded a season of elections. So I join you just weeks after the election of a new Palestinian President. I join you after the election of a new Iraqi Assembly.

These three events open up a window of opportunity for stability, the containment of terrorism, and the nurturing of democracy in the Middle East and throughout those parts of the world where dictatorship still thrives.

For me, it is a rare opportunity for seismic change that must be embraced before the window shuts.

Decades, even centuries of tyranny, can be reversed if the world unites behind common principles of democracy, human rights and pluralism. This may sound like idealism, but I believe it is a realistic assessment of an extraordinary moment in history.

The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centres has changed the shape of the world. September 11th 2001 is always in our minds. The catastrophe that struck America that day continues to echo across the globe.

Now, after a long time, the forces of violence seem to be in retreat. Yes, they resort to desperate, acts in Iraq, in Chechnya, in Madrid.

Yet fear and intimidation are being overwhelmed by hope and a new spirit of democratic participation and peaceful change.

Al Qaeda claimed that it would never let democracy take hold. It saw freedom as the ultimate enemy.

Democracy is indeed the ultimate enemy of terrorism, just as hope is the ultimate enemy of despair. Terrorists and dictators are on the wrong side of history, as the millions who voted in Iraq and Palestine proved.

And the Israeli Prime Minister's decision for Israel to withdraw from Gaza offers hope of another breakthrough. The Gaza withdrawal could be the first step that brings hope of peace and justice to what seemed an insolvable Middle East morass.

And if Israel and Palestine can live in peace and security side by side, I pray for resolution of the equally difficult quagmire of self-determination for Jammu and Kashmir that has brought India and Pakistan to war three times, and threatens a nuclear Armageddon on the subcontinent of Asia.

My optimism does not mean there is no danger. Al Qaeda will try to provoke the clash of civilizations. The question before us is whether the path to catastrophe can be avoided and whether the clash of civilizations is reversible. I believe recent developments suggest that there is cause for hope.

Much of our ability to avert the clash of civilizations lies in learning the lessons of history. Patience and Perseverance are required to up haul political systems that disempower people in this the twenty first century.

Short-term solutions could lead to blowback. My country Pakistan is an example of a Nation where the forces of tyranny, terrorism, proliferation and a militant interpretation of Islam by the margins mingle to create a difficult challenge.

The international community decided to throw its weight behind Pakistan's military dictator following the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centers. There are worries though that the inability of the international community to facilitate Pakistan's transition to civilian and democratic rule could undermine its objectives in the long run.

It is a known that there is sympathy for Bin Laden, Taliban and Arab fighters amongst Pakistan's military and clerical class. These were the two organizations used to train the Mujahideen against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in the

eighties. Following the withdrawal of the Soviets, the Mujahideen went on to become in large parts the Taliban and Al Qaeda.

Pakistan's military dictatorship culminated in the domination of the country's political, financial and social class by the military. Military dictatorship has coincided with the rise of the religious parties. The religious parties claim public friendship with Bin Laden and Mullah Omar. They have filled the vacuum caused by the military regime's determination to crush democracy, sideline the genuine representatives of the people and control the Parliament, Judiciary and Government.

Pakistan's present military ruler, General Musharaf, vested the Presidency with enormous constitutional powers. These constitutional changes amounted to creating a civilian dictator. It was argued that an all-powerful President would help facilitate the withdrawal of the army to the barracks and prevent the recurrence of Martial Law in the country. This has not happened.

This December, after receiving signals that General Musharaf wanted to keep his military post of army chief, the Parliament passed a bill enabling him to be both President and Army Chief. This is the first and only Parliament in the world that has allowed such a bill.

Musharaf went back on his commitment to the people of Pakistan, and to the governments of the world, by keeping both posts. This action demonstrated the inability of the present regime to withdraw the army from Pakistan's political landscape following the October 2002 elections. Given the controversial nature of those elections, with allegations of massive rigging, it is unsurprising that the regime was unable to build a sustainable political and civilian base that could facilitate the withdrawal of the armed forces back to the barracks. Such a withdrawal is allow Pakistan to rejoin the international community as a modern, democratic and enlightened nation state with an empowered people.

A military President in Pakistan, Washington's key ally, sends the wrong message to one billion Muslims regarding the reasons for the war against terror.

President Bush called this a war for the values of freedom. Prime Minister Blair said this was not a war between religions but against oppression and tyranny. The democratization of Pakistan is important to the war against terrorism, to the interpretation of Islam as a message of freedom and enlightenment as well as to the empowerment of the people of Pakistan.

The democratic world was moved by the words of President George Bush in his second Inaugural address. He spoke of freedom offering hope to millions of

oppressed people around the world. President Bush said, “there is only one force of history that can break the reign of hatred and resentment, and expose the pretensions of tyrants, and reward the hopes of the decent and tolerant, and that is the force of freedom.”

People living under tyranny and dictatorship all over the world, but especially in Asia, listened carefully when Mr. Bush said that the United States “will encourage reform in other governments by making clear that success in our relations will require the decent treatment of their own people. America’s belief in human dignity will guide our policies, yet rights must be more than the grudging concessions of dictators; they are secured by free dissent and the participation of the government.”

Now it is time to act on these words. Now it is time to convert rhetoric into reality, to convert polemics into policy. The elections in Palestine and Iraq are two stirring examples. The principles of the Bush doctrine must be applied across the board against tyranny, not just when it is politically convenient.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Today I see a Muslim world in flux. Many of the children of middle class families in the Muslim world studied in state run schools and are children of societies shadowed by dictatorship. Often, they grew up under a ruthless dictatorship using the intelligence services, rather than the parliament or the people, to govern.

Even as political freedoms were denied, economic and social successes remained a distant dream. While the elites thrived, the large masses of people lived in poverty and backwardness eking out a miserable life hindered by disease, malnutrition and infant mortality.

The mainstream political parties were banned and stopped from freely functioning. The safe place for people to gather was often only the Mosques. It became a place of prayer and of political discourse.

Unable to take on the regime directly for fear of retaliation, the clerics would speak against those who supported the dictator – and often this was the West.

Thus a Cold War generation, grew up hearing about denial of nationhood to Palestine, lack of self-determination to Kashmir, the denial of autonomy to the Chechens. They learnt of past Muslim glory based on conquest and war. They learned little or nothing about the Muslim renaissance that saw giant leaps

forward in medicine, astronomy, mathematics, literature and science based on education and rational discourse.

They imbibed the lesson that a return to the simple, austere life of the past could once again rekindle the courage and passion that saw Islam sweep across continents and spread its message far and wide.

The theocratic state, disciplined under a single religious figure, was presented as the path to victory, -----victory against the injustices perpetuated by bigger powers. This translated into victory against the existing national dictatorship and the social malaise it had spawned.

This embittered generation must be rescued with an alternative political model to that of the theocratic state. The fight for freedom is a fight for values that can build a pluralistic world free of discrimination on the basis of race, religion or gender.

When the terrorists targeted the World Trade Centers, they tried to destroy a symbol of pluralism.

America is a land of modernity, diversity and democracy.

Modernity, diversity and democracy are the fanatics' worst fears. They confuse the message to prevent Muslim people from learning that diversity ensures that cultural and religious identity remains intact.

Whatever their alleged goals, there is no defence or justification in Islam for their barbaric conduct.

Islam is committed to tolerance, equality and human dignity. It is committed to empowerment of the masses through the principles of consensus that lie at the heart of democracy.

Tragically, despite this clear Islamic commitment to democracy, most Muslims are living in dictatorships and are hostages in authoritarian regimes around the world .

The message of Islam highlights the importance of spreading education, respecting gender rights and ensuring minority rights. However, this important message of Islam is yet to spread in many of the dictatorships. It is democracy that brings accountability, that allows for social progress and that stems the tide of poverty and backwardness. A comparison of the peoples progress under the

democratic government of the PPP and those that came after it clearly shows that ordinary people benefit under a true democracy.

It worries me when I see Islamabad turn a blind eye to crimes against women. Immediate, stern action is needed by the regime to signal disapproval when a crime against a woman is committed. Yet the regime acts slowly, and only when prodded by public outcry.

This year An Army Captain took part in the gang rape of a lady doctor. It took weeks of public protest before he was finally arrested. And even after his arrest, the regime sided with the rapist, claiming he was innocent, rather than with the victim. It is this inability to distinguish between the exploiter and the exploited that best highlights the difference between a dictatorship and a democracy.

So, too, when a lady filed a complaint of domestic violence against one of Islamabad's Ambassadors, the regime sided with him and allowed him to continue in his post. By so doing, it condoned the crime and created an atmosphere of violence against women that must be replaced with protection for women.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Muslim countries are in search of leaders that can revitalise them with the principles of freedom.

Muslim countries, including Indonesia, Pakistan, and the Philippines had long histories of authoritarian rule. These are the countries that now face terrorist activity, terrorist threat and a sizeable minority with sympathy for terrorists as demonstrated in public opinion. This is the counter picture that those who defend authoritarianism need to answer. The Asian tigers were once cited as examples of societies with growing economies to defend dictatorship. Time demonstrated that such dictatorships benefited a coterie and led to nepotism, cronyism and corruption. It did not benefit the masses. It also led to a human rights deficit.

The alternative argument is that the rise of lawlessness and terrorism witnessed in countries with long periods of authoritarianism demonstrates a link between terrorism and the system of government. By suspending the majesty of law, by taking over by force, by ruling through repression, military dictators and authoritarian rulers gave birth to the culture of obtaining power through violence.

To undermine terrorism, it is necessary to empower citizens and build a society on the edifice of the majesty of law. Unless right prevails over might as a core value of governance it threatens to corrupt the youth with the notion that change comes through use of force alone.

We must fight a war on terrorism and simultaneously fight an equally critical war on the political manipulation of religion and against the regressive forces of totalitarianism.

The terrorists who attack America aim to establish theocracies to manipulate for their own political ends. They want to see the world divided through a clash of civilisations.

By using the name of religion, the terrorist activities have hurt Muslims across the board. Many Muslims today face suspicion or profiling by virtue of being Muslims.

The war against terror is a war that must be fought for world safety.

And it is a war that I believe must be fought with collective action to stop those that would create a clash of cultures and religions.

Short-term strategies often create far more intractable long-term problems. A military dictatorship in Islamabad exploits the war against terror to keep itself in power at the cost of the constitutional rights of its people. It is nine years since democracy in Pakistan was destabilised with the murder of my brother in 1996. Since then Pakistan has since electoral manipulations that are disheartening the people. Many now refuse to vote believing that irrespective of how they vote, the result will be doctored. This is dangerous for Pakistan's democratic future. It is also a danger for the world community when people lose hope in influencing policies through peaceful, electoral means.

Ladies and gentlemen,

We must learn the lessons of the past. The fundamental mistake, contributing to a long-term historical calamity, was our inability to foster Afghan democracy when the Soviets withdrew from Kabul. We must not repeat that mistake again.

Democracies do not make war against other democracies. They also do not sponsor international terrorism.

A democratic Afghanistan in the eighties would have marginalized the Taliban and the Osama's of this world.

Now that the US presidential elections are over, it would be welcome if the international community led in building an opportunity for Pakistan's transition to democratic rule.

Fresh party based elections, open to all parties and personalities, with international monitors, an independent Election Commission, electoral modalities that are transparent and a count that is immediate, open and accurately reflects the sentiments of the people could settle issues of legitimacy and governance which now complicate Pakistan's social and economic challenges. Such an election could put Pakistan back into the community of democratic nations with sustainable political institutions.

Recently the world learned that scientists in charge of Islamabad's nuclear weapons program were clandestinely selling nuclear secrets to North Korea, Iran and Libya. Dr. A. Q. Khan, the chief scientist came on television to confess his guilt. That very evening he was pardoned and allowed to keep the assets obtained through the illicit nuclear sales.

In contrast, politically motivated corruption allegations are used to malign the true leaders of the people and to hamper Pakistan's tryst with its democratic future. Such double standards must not be allowed.

Proliferation, Terrorism, Tyranny is a perilous mix. Pakistan's stability is critical to the world community. That stability is contingent to a political process that reflects the sentiments of the people and gives them a government they trust and want working on an agenda of peoples development.

The controversial October 2002 elections have failed to combat poverty, reform the judiciary or empower Parliament. Those elections failed to bring in mainstream political parties. A dangerous political vacuum yawns across society. While parties that defend Al Qaeda and the Taliban are permitted full political freedom, democratic leaders are imprisoned, exiled or hamstrung from reaching the public with their message of modernity and progress.

When elections in Ukraine were rigged, the international community supported fresh elections. The European community and human rights observers called Islamabad's 2002 elections flawed. Human Rights Watch declared that the "decks were stacked against the democratic" forces. When elections can be re-held in Ukraine, they can be re-held in Pakistan. And they must be held as urgently and fairly as possible to restore the usurped rights of the people back to them.

Two assassination attempts on General Musharaf demonstrate the thin thread on which the alliance with Islamabad is built.

In the war against terrorism, the greatest protection of freedom from terrorists comes from replacing dictatorships with governments responsible to the people, governments based on the values of democracy and liberty.

The stakes are high. The long-term implications are great.

As President George W. Bush said on January 20, 2005: "The moral choice is between oppression, which is always wrong, and freedom, which is always right. America will not pretend that jailed dissidents prefer their chains, or that women welcome humiliation and servitude, or that any human being aspires to lie at the mercy of bullets."

Mohtarma Bhutto says dictatorship has disempowered people
Lecturer at the Simmons College in Massachusetts
US - April 30, 2005

Former Prime Minister and Chairperson of the PPP Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto has said that elections in Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine have been followed by elections in Ukraine and civil elections in Saudi Arabia while the Syrians are phasing out their military presence in Lebanon. "The nurturing of democracy in the Middle East was opening up a window of opportunity for the people of the area".

She was speaking as a guest lecturer at the Simmons College in Massachusetts today. The lecture was attended by about 2700 business and professional women from throughout the United States. There was a panel discussion with Ms. Judy Woodruff, a leading commentator on CNN on "What matters most".

She said that these events, especially the elections in Saudi Arabia, taken together represent the vanguard of a sea change in the Muslim community.

She said that democracy was the ultimate enemy of terrorism. Therefore it was important for her country Pakistan to move on to the path of true democracy in place of the controlled democracy which had resulted from the general elections of 2002.

She recalled that the international community decided to throw its weight behind Pakistan's military ruler General Musharaf following the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centres and expressed concern that the inability of the

international community so far to facilitate Pakistan's transition to civilian and democratic rule could undermine its objectives in the long run.

Pakistan's military dictatorship has resulted in the disempowerment of the people of Pakistan as well as in the domination of the country's political, financial and social class by the military. For the first time in Pakistan's history, the religious parties have grown in strength and formed a government in the Frontier province bordering Afghanistan. Another first has been the nomination of a religious leader as the Leader of Opposition who has the constitutional right to sit on the National Security Council of the country that frames foreign and security policy, she said.

There was general feeling that the religious parties, and the ruling PML Q which shares many ideas with them, gained in the October elections due to the decision to ban her and Mr. Nawaz Sharif from leading their parties and contesting in the General elections. The military regime had announced that it would not let the two former Prime Ministers run for office a third time. However, she said that such a policy, aimed at decapitating the true leadership of the country, could end up benefiting the religious parties even further. They would make large gains in the Punjab province if this were to occur.

The former Prime Minister said that the military regime defended vesting the Presidency with enormous constitutional powers in the name of withdrawing the army from politics forever. However, leave alone forever, the enormous powers with the President did not even facilitate the withdrawal of the army from the politics of the country under General Musharaf. This proved the Opposition claim that dictatorial powers for the President were not a deterrent to military intervention. The only deterrent could be a system based on checks and balances, which was accountable and which distributed powers evenly between the centre, the provinces and the districts.

Quoting from the respected International Crisis Group's assessment of the situation in Pakistan she said it hit the nail right on the head when it said; "Instead of empowering liberal, democratic values, the government has co-opted the religious right and continues to rely on it to counter civilian opposition. By depriving democratic forces of an even playing field and continuing to ignore the need for state policies that would encourage and indeed reflect the country religious diversity, the Musharaf government has allowed religious extremist organizations and jihadi groups, and the Madrassas that provide them an endless stream of recruits to flourish."

She said that Muslim youth want power and want a say in their destiny. They do not want to live as slaves following orders of people on top who are

unaccountable and unrepresentative. For her, the democratisation of Pakistan is important to the war against terrorism, to the interpretation of Islam as a message of freedom and enlightenment as well as to the empowerment of the people of Pakistan.

She recalled the words of President George Bush in his second Inaugural: "There is only one force of history that can break the reign of hatred and resentment, and expose the pretensions of tyrants, and reward the hopes of the decent and tolerant, and that is the force of freedom."

She agreed with the conclusions of the International Crisis Group that, "The U.S. and other influential actors have realized with regard to their own societies that terrorism can only be eliminated through pluralistic democratic structures. Pakistan should not be an exception."

The former Prime Minister said that it was a sorry state of affairs that even as political freedoms were denied, economic and social successes remained a distant dream in Pakistan. Unemployment, poverty, malnutrition and injustice destroyed lives. Society was governed by the whim of the rulers rather than by a set of rules. The head of the ruling party openly boasted that people had more or less rights according to the "dheel" or latitude given to them by the rulers than the sanctity and sacred nature of the Constitution of the country or the laws of the land.

She said that the mainstream political parties were banned and stopped from freely functioning. The proof of this was the savage break up of the peaceful reception planned for her husband former Federal Minister Asif Ali Zardari on his first visit to Lahore following eight years of imprisonment.

She said that the rulers were so intolerant of political opposition that they were pressuring the landlord of her husband's home in Lahore to cancel the rental agreement. However, she said that such petty actions would not deter the PPP from pressing ahead for freeing the people of Pakistan from the chains of tyranny, backwardness and poverty. She said that the PPP workers knew that victory came to the brave and the bold and would face the repressive forces of the state with courage and conviction of their principles.

She also talked of the Muslim past where the Muslim renaissance saw giant leaps forward in medicine, astronomy, mathematics, literature and science based on education and rational discourse. She said that freedom in Pakistan and across the Muslim world would unleash the creative powers of the Muslim people helping them achieve the heights of greatness once again in the fields of medicine, law, literature and art and culture.

The PPP Chairperson was critical of those who presented the theocratic state, disciplined under a single religious figure, as the path to victory. She said that the generation spawned by the Afghan Jihad of the eighties against the Soviets which was heavily influenced by extremist thought, needed to be rescued with an alternative political model to that of the theocratic state.

She said the fight for freedom is a fight for giving the Muslim youth an alternative political system that can empower them, give them faith in themselves, dignity, self respect and allow them to hold their heads high with pride in their culture and history free from bigotry and prejudice.

She said that Islam believed in a pluralistic society although one could not see many pluralistic societies in the Muslim world today. She said she read in history books that when the crusaders came they killed everyone in their wake to take Jerusalem. However, as a Muslim child, she read that when the Muslim conqueror Salahuddin retook Jerusalem, he told the victorious Muslim troops not to kill the non Muslims.

She said that this decision by Salahuddin centuries ago was proof of the tolerance and pluralism of Muslim leaders, societies and cultures which unfortunately had now been hijacked by the margins.

The former Prime Minister said that the Muslims were in search of leaders that can revive the values of Islam by reintroducing the politics of consensus and compromise that lie at the heart of democratic values. She said that such values have nothing to do with terrorism that cannot be justified by any argument.

Denial of political rights undermined country's stability
Address at the Harvard University in the United States
May 1, 2005

Mohtarma Bhutto says Pakistanis fated to be freed from tyranny

Addresses Harvard University

Prime Minister and chairperson of the Pakistan Peoples Party has said that the denial of political rights undermined the stability of Pakistan, adding "the democratisation of Pakistan is important to the war against terrorism, to the interpretation of Islam as a message of freedom and enlightenment as well as to the empowerment of the people of Pakistan".

She was addressing the students, faculty and a large number of guests at the Harvard University in the United States today.

There are dangers of militancy and terrorism in Indonesia but its army hasn't used that as an excuse to seize power. It recognises that the respect of nations, including its Motherland, comes from democratic norms and form constitutional governance, she said.

Urging Islamabad to learn from the Indonesian example she said it need to learn from the Philippines which too had military dictatorship and controlled democracy and found that neither worked.

"It is because Islamabad has been unable to follow in the example of Indonesia and Philippines that the country is in turmoil and with it the stability in the region is threatened".

Indonesia has made its transition to democracy. Its Generals have gone back to the barracks. They respect the civilian leadership and carry out orders despite facing a difficult situation in Timor and in Aceh province.

On destroying democratic political leaders by dictators she said that it has become the fashion both in the developed and developing world over the last decade, to destroy leaders' reputations by innuendo, allegation and rumour. This strategy now even has a name -- the politics of personal destruction.

But the scale to which this was orchestrated in Pakistan against my Party defied anything seen in the world. It was a relentless, devastating and overt assault on justice in an attempt to eliminate my leadership and to destroy me personally, she said.

Bureaucrats, businessmen and cabinet members were arrested and tortured. Judgements were dictated to Judges by the Law Ministry.

She said that Pakistan was no ordinary country. "It is a nation that detonated nuclear devices in 1998 after the overthrow of my government. It is a country that has fought three wars in the last fifty years of its history. It nearly went to war in 1999 over the frozen wastelands of an area called Kargil".

In this 21st Century, the people of Pakistan yearn for the restoration of their right to elect a government of their choice, she said.

The former Prime Minister said that mainstream political parties are stopped from freely functioning in the country.

The safe place for people to gather to voice opposition to the present dispensation is often only under the banner of the religious parties known as the MMA. This is dangerous. During the Afghan Jihad against the Soviets, the international community accepted, out of expediency and short term goals, the strengthening of the most extreme factions of the Afghan Mujahideen, the Taliban and Al Qaeda. We must not make that mistake again, she said.

The rise of religious parties, their strengthening in Parliament and in the streets has an echo in the past, she said. Once again Islamabad is a front line state. This time it is a front line state in the war against terror as opposed to the last time when it was a front line state against the Soviet occupation.

We must fight a war on terrorism and simultaneously fight an equally critical war against tyranny wherever it exists. Short-term strategies often create far more intractable long-term problems.

In the past we failed to foster Afghan democracy when the Soviets withdrew from Kabul. We must not now fail to foster democracy in Pakistan.

A democratic Afghanistan in the eighties would have marginalized the Taliban and the Osama's of this world. A democracy in Pakistan can ensure that the world does not see the re-emergence of forces similar to the Taliban and Osama's of this world.

She said that the concept of people's power was etched in her heart. In time that etching has simply been fortified. I believe in peoples power.

About leadership she said that many believe that South Asian women leaders have inherited leadership through assassination of loved ones in the family. The other part is that each of us had to win our badges of honours by paying a political price.

She said that she believed that women leaders are more generous and forgiving. Male leaders tend to be more inflexible, and rigid. Women leaders are often Mothers. We see ourselves as Mothers of the Nation bringing an emotional commitment to protect and nurture our people.

About Islam she said it is a religion that sanctifies Abraham, Moses and Jesus as Prophets. It was a loving and tolerant religion whose image has been tarnished by fanatics, she said.

She said that when her government assumed management of the economy in 1993, the country's growth rate rested at a dismal 2.0%. We tripled that to 6% in three short years.

We were able to reduce our fiscal deficit three points in three years, from 8% to 5% of GDP. We doubled tax revenue from 7.2% to 14.1%, a great accomplishment. And we attracted more than \$3 billion of direct foreign investment in Pakistan.

Throughout history, the most powerful human urge has been the urge to be in charge of ones destiny. Freedom from slavery, freedom from exploitation, freedom from tyranny is the breath of life, it is the moving force of human resolve and purpose.

It is my hope, my desire, my effort that with the support of the great people who make up the Federation of Pakistan, that in my lifetime we shall see our country emerge as a free one, of a free people, free from the threat of military intervention, free from fascism, free to determine the course of our future and to shape our destiny with our own hands.

And I know that the people of Pakistan will succeed, just as our forefathers succeeded in carving out Pakistan and our Fathers succeeded in ending earlier dictatorships.

Victory will come because victory always comes to those who fight for truth, justice and humanity. I leave you with the words and values of truth, justice and humanity. No matter where you go and what you do, no matter what you achieve, the only sense of satisfaction you will get is the satisfaction that comes from conscience. Conscience is satisfied when the struggle is not for oneself but for ones fellow human beings.

**Politics of intolerance culminates in extremism: Ms Benazir Bhutto
Address on the Annual Healthcare Leadership Forum organized by Siemens
Medical Solution Group in Arizona State USA; May 4, 2005**

People of goodwill and moderation must unite to prevent the twenty first century becoming one that ends up with religious suspicion and conflict. She said that this can be done by investing in education and social reform." This was said by the former Prime Minister and Chairperson Pakistan Peoples Party, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto while speaking to a select audience of 300 peoples today at the annual Healthcare Leadership Forum organized by Siemens Medical Solution Group in Arizona State USA.

Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto apprising the audience about the link between dictatorial political systems and the politics of intolerance which often culminated in extremism, said, "In this connection, the former Prime Minister noted that unfortunately many Muslim countries, including Indonesia, Pakistan, and the Philippines had long histories of authoritarian rule. She recalled that in the twentieth century some argued that authoritarianism could produce a professional middle class facilitating democratic reform and cited the Asian tigers as examples. However, she did not agree with this view. She said it could be argued that the rise of the lawlessness and terrorism was a consequence of a generation that saw power come from the use of force. By suspending the majesty of law, by taking over by force, by ruling through repression, military dictators and authoritarian rulers gave birth to the culture of obtaining power through violence.

Stressing the need for democratic dispensation former prime minister said, "To undermine terrorism, violence, brutality and barbarism, it is necessary to stress the values of democracy, the rule of law, justice, equality and the empowerment of all citizens. Mohtarma called for giving the Muslim people models of political development that enhance the dignity of the individual and the prosperity of the Nation. While fighting the war on terrorism, it was necessary to fight an equally critical war on against the regressive forces of totalitarianism. Extremists like Al Qaeda supporters use violence to bring about the clash of civilizations which can only create bloodshed, conflict and suffering. She felt saddened that the terrorists had wrongly used the name of religion which had resulted in many Muslims paying the price for their deeds. She said that the terrorist activities have focussed attention on all Muslims. Large numbers of Muslims are facing a growing siege mentality."

Highlighting PPP's achievements in government Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto said, "Under the PPP government, Pakistan was developing into a modern state. She recalled that it was the PPP government which had heralded the information age by introducing fax machines, digital pagers, fibre optic communications, cellular telephones, satellite dishes, computers, Internet, e-mail and even BBC and CNN into Pakistan. PPP had highest rate of employment for the people of Pakistan because Under its government Pakistan integrated into the global economy to become one of the ten emerging capital markets of the world. She said that the billions of dollars in foreign investment that came into Pakistan during the PPP tenure was a vote of confidence in the stability of the country under the PPP as well as an endorsement that there was justice and peace in the country. PPP was bringing Pakistan into the modern era as a model to all Muslims of what moderate, enlightened Islam could accomplish for its people."

Regarding the consequences of illegal and unconstitutional termination of PPP government, she said, "With the end of the PPP government, there was a right turn in policies. Soon the activities and statements of Taliban and Al Qaeda began undermining the image of Pakistan. After the nuclear detonations in 1998 and the near war with India over Kargil in 1999, some commentators had begun writing of Pakistan as a failed state. This was a worrying factor for the people of Pakistan who had to reform the political system in the country urgently. Without such reform it was possible that once the crisis over the War against terror ended, Pakistan could again end up under strict international scrutiny. In this context, she said that the charges of nuclear black market and the A.Q. Khan affair were possible issues that could come back to haunt the country. She lamented the fact that the international community did not plan for a post-war Afghanistan built on democratic principles of coalition, consensus and cooperation following the withdrawal of the Soviets. She said that a moderate and democratic political structure in Afghanistan would have marginalized the Taliban and saved the region from further war and conflict as well as saved it from the narcotics trade which had ruined the lives of so many of the youth."

Former Prime Minister said, "A regime that could not allow a peaceful airport reception had any credibility in claiming that it could hold fair elections. She said that the reports were that discussions were taking place to rig the local elections. She said that if the local elections were rigged it would demonstrate that rather than moving forward, Islamabad under the present dispensation was moving backward. Therefore she said in assessing the situation in Pakistan, it was important to keep an eye on the forthcoming local elections. However, she said that local elections were not a substitute for general elections. She noted that the brewing discontent in the smaller provinces of Pakistan. She recalled that earlier discontent in former East Pakistan had resulted in the break up of the country. She said that in the days before the break up, there was so much arrogance that people would say they would smash the Bengali freedom movement. But they were wrong. She said similarly there are those who say they will crush the growing resistance in the smaller provinces to the denial of a fair share in the federal resources. However, she said that we must learn from the lesson of history that force is only a temporary reprieve and a political resolution is the permanent one which means giving all people and all provinces a fair stake in the affairs of the country. Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto said that recently General Musharraf said that the Pakistan Peoples Party is a reality and he would like the support of liberal forces. Yet when tens of thousands pro-democracy supporters from all over Pakistan exercised their right to freedom of movement to welcome her husband at Lahore Airport earlier this month, they were brutally dispersed. She claimed that twenty one thousand peaceful citizens were locked in Police stations and jails. They were physically assaulted and verbally abused to crush their spirit and break their will. But they remained strong and determined. The

harsh crackdown was a sober reminder of the politics of intolerance and immoderation that exist under the present dictatorship. This treatment was in stark contrast to the political freedoms granted the religious parties who are allowed to bus in their supporters and to hold rallies and marches. Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto reflected that perhaps Islamabad wants to frighten the international community into accepting military dictatorship or facing the threat of religious dictatorship."

Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto said, "Genuine political space to the true elected representatives of the people is important to building stability and modernity in Pakistan. Otherwise the massive rise of religious parties will continue. She said that this political space was not being given to the political parties as the disruption of the Lahore reception for her husband on April 16, 2005 proved. Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto quoted the Human Rights Watch official Brad Adams who had said, "General Musharraf talks of 'enlightened moderation' and says he is moving towards full democracy but democracies don't use force to prevent peacefully gatherings. There is nothing enlightened or moderate about arresting thousands of people who merely want to participate in the country's political process."

**Women Emancipation
International Women Business Conference
Damascus – Syria; 20 May 2005**

Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto addressed the International Women Business Conference in Damascus on the invitation of the First Lady of Syria Madam Basharul Asad. It was the first ever conference of its kind in the Middle East organised by the First Lady of the host country. The opening session of the conference was addressed by Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto from Pakistan, Suzan Mubarik the First Lady of Egypt and the first lady of Turkey besides the First Lady of Syria.

Following is the text of the speech:

I believe in life women have nothing to fear but fear itself. Women still have to go a long way, especially Muslim Woman. But we derive support from our religion. The Prophet of Islam (Peace Be Upon Him), condemned the practice of killing the girl child practiced in pagan times. The killing of the girl child was a symbol of violence against women. Violence is wrong. Yet violence against women continues in different ways. It continues through honour killings and genital mutilation as well as domestic violence and sexual assault.

I owe success to my father, a special man who insisted that I have a university education even though his sisters said, don't do that because no man will marry an educated woman. Education is the first step to success and to independence as well as a satisfying life enabling a person to lead a stimulating, interesting and instructive life.

My life is not the simple life I dreamt as a student at Harvard and Oxford. I have lost my father when he was fifty years old. I lost two of my brothers. Many thought that as a woman, I would break. I did not because I believe that leadership irrespective of whether it is in politics or professions is born of a passion. It is a commitment and it becomes life's mission. Women often have to make difficult choices. Sometimes choices that men do not have to make. Yet we make them because we must. While I was at Oxford University, the British Conservative Party nominated Margaret Thatcher as their Prime Ministerial candidate. She became a role model for me, an example of a woman in the world of politics who had the courage to take on the mantle of leadership. Women need role models for moral support, especially women in leadership positions. At Oxford, I was the first female foreigner to win the presidency of the prestigious Oxford Debating Society.

This new century of ours must, for once and for all, be a century that values the girl child, that respects the woman, and protects its daughters, mothers and sisters in peace and in war, that honours and dignifies its women with economic freedom and allows us to be judged by our individual achievements.

As prime minister of Pakistan, I took several steps to enable womenfolk to compete with men creating Women Bank, guaranteeing small business loans to women entrepreneurs and appointing women as judges in the higher judiciary of the country. It is ironic that most Muslim societies have women who face discrimination in one form or another. We need to stand up to this discrimination and reverse it. It is a gender bias dictated by tradition. As Prime Minister of Pakistan I used my office to try to reverse centuries of discrimination against women. The government I led instituted a new program of hiring women police officers to investigate crimes of domestic violence against the women of Pakistan. We condemned, as state police, of women who had been raped. We lifted the ban on women taking part in sporting events.

I see great progress looming as the forces that shape the new century and the new millennium come together around the world. It is a confluence of ideology that must shape a world free from gender exploitation, free from poverty, hunger and disease. In the new global community none of us can be free if some of us are enslaved. We are not free if children cannot read, for a child who cannot read has no future. I wonder how many of you know that in every hour, one thousand

children starve to death on this planet. As long as these basic violations of human rights are allowed to continue, none of us -- regardless of where we live, regardless of how elegant or civilized our life-styles, regardless of our own personal circumstances and comforts -- none of us are free. But I do not despair. As I see women attaining rights, moving forward, making a success in business, politics and professions, I have great hope for a better world than the one bequeathed our generation.

The solutions may not be quick or simple. But history teaches us that ultimately the forces of justice triumph.

**At Rashid Centre Humanitarian Awards Ceremony - Dubai
June 6, 2005**

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a special privilege to join you this evening for the Rashid Paediatric Centre's Humanitarian Award function.

We gather tonight on the occasion of the Rashid Centre's Humanitarian Award to late Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri of Lebanon.

In anguish we recall Prime Minister Hariri's death in a terrible act of terrorism this February, an act of terror that claimed ten other lives.

Prime Minister Hariri was a transformational figure in life and in death. He transformed Lebanon with post war reconstruction work. He rebuilt his country and his record will live on in history as a monument to his memory. His tragic death galvanised the world community leading to a new political equation.

I recall my meetings with Prime Minister Hariri. He was a leader of courage and compassion who believed in the Islamic values of consensus.

Tonight the Rashid Centre pays tribute to Lebanon's leader who was committed to humanitarian causes.

The Rashid Paediatric Therapy Centre itself invites admiration for its selfless devotion to the most vulnerable segment of our society, young disabled children.

As I speak to you now, a child will be born.

Irrespective of where that child is born, in which continent, in which country or in which home, a loving Mother will love and feed that child praying for its future.

The life of a child born in a war torn zone will be so much different to that of one born in peace.

The life of a child born in poverty will be different to the one born to an affluent home.

In parts of the world, little children born in innocence are made child soldiers, in other parts forced to work in the labour force and yet others forced into prostitution.

One of the saddest stories I read was of a Mother forced to sell her eldest daughter to feed her ten remaining children. One can imagine the powerlessness and desperation of a Mother forced to sell a most beloved child.

None of us can be in peace with our own selves so long as innocent children continue to suffer, suffer poverty, cruelty, violence.

We explore the darkest portions of space and the deepest depths of the ocean. Humanity has made incredible leaps forward. Even as we grow in technological knowledge and information passes through the information highway in the blink of an eye, the sad reality of suffering children is a reminder of challenges yet unmet.

Children are victims, both as casualties and as survivors of conflict although they have little choice in either.

According to UNICEF's 1996 report between 1945 and 1992, there were 149 major wars, killing 23 million people. The number of war deaths in this period was double the deaths in 19th century and seven times greater than in 18th century.

Children in the aftermath of war or natural disaster, with or without parents, often go through ordeals in refugee camps, while fleeing for shelter, food or protection.

International aid agencies like UNICEF and Save the children fund, reach out to the world's poorest and most deprived children. Yet they can resolve only part of the problem. In many poverty stricken areas of the world, nation states still spend too little on social services and too much of their meagre resources on

procurement of weapons and military budgets. So long as they do that, children will continue to suffer in large numbers.

It is important to note that some of yesterdays' children are today's recruits in suicide bombings. Although there can be no justification of terrorism, the question we need to ask is: What did the last generation do that made some of this generation perpetuate violence?

History is continuous, and often cyclical. The mistakes of parents or past generations, reflect into children, thereby marking our present. Children signify our future. The experience of today will shape the decisions our children take tomorrow.

No international covenants will change the world, unless there is active discouragement by parents of violence and violent means of change. However the eventual responsibility lies with nation states - to build peaceful conditions and more than that, to evolve strong legal instruments that prevent child abuse.

Often, when talking about children, we adults, treat them as a thing apart - as if they are another being, or another category, forgetting that once we were children, who now ensure our own continuity through our children.

If we could remember what happened to us during our individual childhoods that shaped our individual personalities, we could remember that today is yesterday's future, shaped by the experiences we went through as children.

If we own other people's children, as if they were ours, we can build a tomorrow where the spectre of sectarian, ethnic and terrorist violence recedes.

For all of us who care for children and for the common bond of humanity that links us, we dedicate ourselves to building a world where each little child that is born can hope to live without dying through infant mortality, can hope to gain an education, find a home and a career and build a family and community.

As a Mother, I feel strongly about the rights of children. As Prime Minister I was asked to Co Chair the World Summit on children. I was astounded to find that one of nine children born with the crippling disease polio was from Pakistan. I worked hard with the people of my country to eliminate polio, to iodise salt, to prevent child labour and to build schools to give our children opportunity and a better future than the dark yesterdays they had known.

Special attention was given to young girls for ensuring that our future Mothers were literate. I believe the first and best teacher is the Mother.

For me, the little child, even when unborn, is our precious wealth and the strength of our coming generations.

In a world where weapons and war too often define us, it is important that we leave tonight's function learning from the Rashid Centre to help children who are the true beneficiaries of the efforts for a better world.

As I spoke to you tonight, many Mother's gave birth to children across the world. I wonder: how many will see their children survive infancy.

I do know that the number of those children who survive is the true test of our direction and goals as a world community.

Ad while I cannot say how many children died while I spoke to you tonight, I can say that while such basic violation of the children's rights continues, none of us can be truly content, no matter how privileged our life styles.

I leave you tonight with the words of a poem that held particular meaning for me:

If a child lives with criticism, he learns to condemn. If a child lives with hostility, he learns to fight.

If a child lives with encouragement, he learns confidence.

If a child lives with fairness, he learns justice.

If a child lives with acceptance and friendship, he learns to find love in the world.

Abu Dhabi World Leaders Summit
Abu Dhabi, UAE - November 15, 2005

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is an honor for me to appear before this unique, truly extraordinary gathering of leaders from all around the world, converging on the United Arab Emirates as an emerging center of economic, political and intellectual innovation.

Blessed by resource and unlimited opportunity, it is significant that it is here in the UAE, where I have chosen to live and raise my children.

Here I pay tribute to the late President Shaikh Zayed.

He was a father to his people, to the larger Arab world and he was also like a father to me.

I shall always remember him in my heart for allowing me a home away from home, here in the UAE and for his contributions to Pakistan's development.

And I will never forget the warmth of your welcome, the openness of your hospitality and the humanity of your people.

To all of you, Salaam Aleichem, May Peace Be With You.

I am asked to share my life story with you and to speak on leadership.

I am a daughter of the desert sands of Sindh in Pakistan. It is an ancient land, a land of saints, Sufis and mystics.

I grew up in the shadow of Moen Jo Daro, the 5000 year old civilization which once traded with Baghdad and Bukhara and through them with Europe and the Far East.

My father would tell me fascinating historical tales of conquest and victory.

I learnt of how the Greek Conqueror Alexander the Great was bitten by a mosquito in Sindh developing a fever that killed him in Babylon.

I learnt of how the mighty can be brought down by the weakest. I learnt that in the greatest adventures one must never forget the smallest details.

Islam first came to South Asia through Sindh. An Arab conqueror by the name of Mohammad Bin Qasim landed on the shores by sea bringing the message of equality that would spread far and wide in the year 712 A.D.

Some of my family claimed to have come with Mohammad Bin Qasim and to have settled in Sindh. Others claimed we were locals who were amongst the first converts to Islam.

There was a great emphasis on roots and on the values of courage, integrity, loyalty, knowledge, honour, duty, responsibility and pride passed on from generation to generation.

Sindh was largely a tribal society when I was child. Identity lay in the family, in the tribe, in the soil and in religion. One's duty was to uphold the good name of the whole, of which we as individuals were a part of.

I heard that I was an heir to the greatness of Islam which proclaimed equality between the rich and the poor, between the male and female, between the strong and the weak.

I read and re-read how the powerful conqueror of Sindh Mohammad Bin Qasim was sentenced to death in the cause of justice. He had failed to protect the dignity of a woman and was punished losing his life.

It showed me the importance of the rights of women and it underlined the importance of justice in Islam for building a truly civilized society. That example, seared into the memory of a young child, become a part of my life and my struggle.

There was much poverty in those days in my country. There were few roads, drinking water was scarce, people were so poor that they were often shirtless and shoeless. Little children ran naked in the dusty, dirty village lanes with open sewerage gutters. Cow dung was used for cooking and as fertilizer. It would be scooped up, shaped into patties and dried on the mud walls of houses.

A midst this squalor and deprivation, there were a few large families with enormous land holdings and industrial wealth.

My father told me it was wrong that so many should be so poor when so few were so rich. He told me that the Islamic law of inheritance ensured the distribution of wealth rather than its concentration. He imbibed in me the spirit of social reform and the principle of social equality – goals that he fought for and which became mine.

I came from a political family. My grandfather formed the first political party in Sindh and brought out its first newspaper. He led the movement to separate Muslim Sindh from Hindu Bombay in the thirties which culminated in the demand for Pakistan in the forties -- A separate homeland for Muslims of South Asia.

My father was the youngest Cabinet Minister in South Asia and went on to become its youngest Prime Minister when he was elected.

I grew up as a pampered child of privileged family with political and social dominance.

From the young age of 5, I was under public scrutiny, the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Because of that public scrutiny, I was taught to always be on guard, on watch, not to make a slip, to keep my head high, to hide my emotions, to perform my duty, to smile and walk on because “when you smile, the world smiles with you” and “when you cry, you cry alone”.

I was shy and led an insulated life. Except for my cousins and a few close friends, I did not mix much with other children. We feared that fame brings fair weather friends and kept to ourselves. We learnt that the price of fame can be loneliness – to avoid gossip we kept our distance, always protected, shadowed, chaperoned.

Obedience to parents, to teachers, to God were the hallmarks of my young life.

Moral duty was drilled into us; “To whom God gives much, much is expected.”

When war between India and Pakistan broke out in 1965, my mother took me with her to the Red Crescent Center to help the relief effort.

In 1966, in our ancestral home in Larkana, when I turned 13, my Mother made me wear a Burqa, the all enveloping black cloth covering the body from head to toe. As the veil billowed over my body and covered my eyes, I felt hot, constrained and the world looked grey through the mists of the veil.

For centuries women in my family had worn the veil. For centuries women had either married cousins or, if they were unavailable, remained unmarried. This ensured that the property women inherited under Islam did not leave the family.

But now my life was to change. My father was an emancipated man, a reformer who broke the bastions of tradition and changed the direction of his family, his country and our region.

He took one look at me in the Burqa as I arrived home and said, “ I don’t want my daughter wearing the veil.” He told me that Muslims believe that the best veil is the veil in the eyes of a person.

It was a man, a very special man, my father, who set me on the road to modernity.

When I turned sixteen, my father decided to send me abroad for education.

My female relatives opposed my father's decision. They begged him to change his mind. The destiny of a young woman in those days was to make a good marriage, a good home and raise good children.

Before I left for Harvard, my father took me to our lands in Larkana.

Here the peasants sweated under the sun taking care of the fields of wheat and cotton.

My father said, "see how hard these men work. You must seek knowledge abroad and then return to serve your own people. Do not be so dazzled by the bright lights as to forget your roots and the land that gave you birth."

Then he took me to our family graveyard where for generations our ancestors lay. "Whenever you go in the world" he said "this is where you will ultimately return. You are part of this dust and this dust is part of you."

As a farewell present, my father gave me the Holy Book of the Muslims inlaid with precious mother of Pearl. He hugged me and kissed me. He often joked that I was too argumentative. His parting words of advice to me were "Don't argue with Immigration Officers or taxi drivers."

And so at 16 I left with my mother and my Afghan Pashmina coat for Cambridge Massachusetts – to a new world.

For the first time I met people who did not know who I was, or where my country was.

"Pakistan: where's that?" they'd ask.

While I was a student at Harvard, A separatist movement in present day Bangladesh had torn my country apart. I refused to believe Pakistani troops could commit genocide in then East Pakistan. I got into furious arguments with those I found criticizing my country.

Patriotism burned deep in my heart.

As a Muslim I was seen as the spokesperson of the Arab world when discussions about the Middle East arose.

At seventeen I addressed the Asia Society and wrote a letter to Life Magazine defending the Egyptian President Nasser's decision to built the Aswan Dam.

As a child of my age, I was influenced by the social ferment around me. It was a time of student power.

It was a time of war. American forces were engaged in Vietnam. There was an anti-war movement on campus. As an Asian at Harvard, I felt strongly about the war in Vietnam.

I joined other students to protest it.

It was a time of white minority rule in parts of Africa. The fight against apartheid shaped my commitment to stand up for the principle of equality between men irrespective of race or colour.

The women's movement had begun and with it the debate about women's role in society.

As a Muslim women I felt strongly about gender rights. The Prophet of Islam (PBUH) had married a working woman, a business woman. He had stopped violence against women prohibiting the burial of the girl child. Islam proclaimed that paradise lay beneath the feet of the mother and that on the day of judgment we'd be called by our mother's names.

The movement for women's rights empowered and emboldened me.

It was a time when Martin Luther King defended the rights of the African American and Robert Kennedy spoke for the underprivileged of America. It was an era of civil rights and morality where values, rather than force, shaped the destiny of society and of humanity.

These important steps helped shape my outlook on life, helped me focus on fighting injustice, promoting freedom, safeguarding the rights of the discriminated and dispossessed.

I was in America during the impeachment proceedings that brought down it's President Nixon.

I saw the awesome power of the people to change policies, to change leaders and to change history.

I marveled at the power of a people to bring down a government. I lived in a dictatorship. Those criticizing the President ended up in prison or faced assassination attempts.

From Harvard I went to Oxford University in London.

Brought up with the Muslim belief that all people are equal, irrespective of race, religion, colour, caste or creed, I was shocked to see racism rear its ugly head.

The British Politician Enoch Powell was threatening to throw all Asians into the sea.

I loved Oxford with its cobbled streets and college spires. I walked the streets my father had once walked. I learnt to punt on the river and attend strawberry and cream picnics.

While I was at Oxford the Conservative Party chose a women, Margaret Thatcher, as leader of the opposition. The idea of the first female British Prime Minister became an intense topic of discussion amongst students.

There were many who believed that the Conservative Party could never win an election because it was led by a woman.

My father, who had become Prime Minister by now, thought otherwise.

He invited Mrs. Thatcher to Pakistan as his guest during the summer, to ensure that I would be there. I attended his dinner for Mrs. Thatcher. Later Mrs. Thatcher invited me to the British House of Parliament, the House of Commons the seat of the mother of all democracies. I was introduced to the world of politics.

My interest in international affairs was growing but I still did not want to enter politics.

My father would regale me with stories about Joan of Arc, Mrs. Bandarnaike the world's first woman Prime Minister and Mrs. Gandhi of India. Moreover, Mrs. Golda Meir had been Prime Minister of Israel during the Arab-Israeli war of 1967. All the civilizations of the world had women Prime Ministers except for the Islamic civilization. Yet it was Islam which had given the clarion call for gender equality. My father believed that I was the one who would right the historic balance.

Despite my reluctance, he clearly saw a political role for me. He groomed me for politics and motivated me with role models.

I joined the Oxford Union Students Debating Society because my father wanted me too. Many British Prime Ministers had started their political careers as

Presidents of the Oxford Union. Even though he did not say it, I felt my father wanted me to run for office there too. So I did.

At Oxford I was the first female foreigner to be elected as President of the Oxford Union.

It is said that the Oxford Union is the training ground for British politics. The entry and exit doors have “Push” and “Pull” written on them. We joked that politics was all about pushing and pulling up the greasy ladder of success.

It was there that I first learnt to debate.

I returned to Pakistan in the summer of 1977 planning to join the foreign service.

Within a week of my return to Pakistan, my life changed dramatically.

A military coup took place. Army tanks had surrounded the Prime Minister’s house. Our life and family was never to be the same again.

My father was taken away. I ran to the door as he walked out of the house. I watched the car leave the drive way taking my father to an unknown destination, with the sun glowing off the car’s metal plate with the Prime Minister Seal.

As Prime Minister of Pakistan, I declined to return to live in the Prime Minister's House. It held too many painful memories for me.

My father was later released and greeted by hundreds of thousands of people. They swarmed around him pouring out their love and affection.

This show of popular strength struck fear into the heart of the military.

Shortly there after I was woken in the night with armed men barging into my room waving guns and jumping over the place. They were all over the house. My father was arrested again and taken away.

He was released, re-arrested, and finally hanged amidst international outrage at the age of fifty.

I was then half his age. His Highness President Shaikh Zayed was one of the leading world figures who tried to save my father’s life and sent my family a condolence message. His support meant a great deal to us and to the people of Pakistan.

A few hours before my Father's murder, my Mother and I went to see him in the squalid death cell where the military tyrants had kept him. We went to bid him farewell. His courage in the face of death remains with me.

It was then, in that final meeting that I decided come what may, I would continue his mission and his work for a democratic Pakistan with equal rights for all its citizens.

During the long dark night of military dictatorship, lasting eleven years, my mother and I were repeatedly arrested, kept apart, in solitary confinement amidst harsh conditions. Every attempt was made to break our will but we remained strong bolstered by the love of the people who supported us.

Our supporters were whiplashed, tortured, shot and hanged. But they never wavered. Some went to the gallows with my father's name on their lips, others were buried with their coffins covered in the tricoloured party flag.

My mother was baton charged and denied proper treatment. Today she suffers from a form of Alzheimer's her doctors say was brought on by improper treatment of that head wound.

I spent nearly six years behind bars, often in solitary confinement. During the summers it was unbearably hot and during the winters it was brutally cold. The conditions in the cell were primitive. Mosquitoes, flies, cockroaches, dust storms and dryness were constant companions as was loneliness and a lack of communication with the outside world.

I spent long hours in prayer. My belief in God sustained me when each moment seemed an hour, each hour a day. Through out this period, I was confident that we would triumph, confident that truth would prevail, confident that those who are patient and persevere are rewarded with victory. I never lost hope. I never gave up.

I was told that the death cells were being emptied for me as part of the psychological warfare to break my spirit. But I held to the belief that life and death are in God's hands.

By the time I was freed into exile through international pressure, I was anorexic. My hearing and eyesight were affected forever. My face muscles hurt when I talked. They had atrophied through the years of silence. Freed from the grey walls of my prison cell, I found it hard to adjust to sunlight, to the noise of peoples voices, to ordinary conversation.

My family background and long years of imprisonment made me the rallying point for the democratic movement. I returned to Pakistan in 1986 welcomed by millions of Pakistanis who demanded an end to dictatorship.

And when I got married and expected my first child in 1988, the military dictator called for elections. He thought a pregnant woman could not campaign. I could, and I did, and, with the support of the brave people of Pakistan, I was elected Prime Minister of Pakistan.

It was not an easy campaign. The religious parties that had supported the Afghan Jihad in Afghanistan opposed me. They claimed that the marriage of any man who voted for me would be null and void in the eyes of God. They claimed that the only place for a woman was behind the veil and the four walls of the house—Not in government.

They said it was a religious duty to kill me because I was challenging the right of men to rule the country and defying the tradition enforced on women. But I did not give up. And won.

Circumstances propelled me onto the road of leadership.

I find that leadership is born of a passion and it is a commitment. My commitment to democracy helped me walk the high mountain of success as well as the low valleys of imprisonment and exile.

Leadership demands a price from an individual and it also demands a price from the family.

I do not understand the work-life balance.

For me, success is 99% perspiration and one % inspiration.

My election broke the myth that a woman could not be elected Prime Minister in a Muslim country. It was a severe set back for the forces of fanaticism that wished to build a theocratic society.

It stirred a debate in the entire Muslim world. The lead scholar in Saudi Arabia gave a Fatwa, a religious edict, against my election. But other religious scholars supported me. I especially remember the religious scholars in Egypt, Syria and Yemen. The religious scholar in Yemen said that Islam permitted a woman to govern a Muslim country. He said the Holy book of the Muslims referred to the rule of Queen Sheba in laudatory terms noting that her reign brought prosperity to her people.

But the fanatics in Pakistan were deeply upset at my election. They dreamt of spreading the ideological frontiers of Islam through Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia to the borders of Europe.

Elements of the military that had fought the Afghan Jihad as a religious war against godless communism also opposed me. They refused to salute me and engaged in covert conspiracies to overthrow me.

My opponents turned to Osama Bin Laden for help. They called him back from Saudi Arabia where he had returned following the decision of the Soviets to withdraw from Afghanistan in 1989. They asked him for ten million dollars to bring down the Government I led. In return they promised to legislate a religious bill turning Pakistan into a theocratic state.

Until today the fanatics who believe in a war between the Muslims and the Non-Muslims fear my popularity and the strength of my Party. They see us as a symbol of a modern Muslim state, pluralistic, democratic, tolerant, respecting freedom and human rights. They fear the empowerment of the people which challenges authoritarian forms of government.

Undeterred by the opposition, my party began the restructuring of the state.

We broke the bureaucratic stranglehold becoming the first in the region to privatise, deregulate and decentralize our economy.

We opened up our markets transforming our economy from permits and permission to initiative and entrepreneurship.

As Prime Minister of Pakistan, I successfully built good relations with India through negotiations with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

I bargained with Afghan leaders to influence the formation of a moderate government in Kabul.

My government opened up trade and common links with Central Asia.

But the elements of the military establishment that had fought communism in Afghanistan and now wanted to take on the west did not give up. They twice destabilized the governments I led.

During both my stints in opposition, Pakistan was on the brink of being declared a terrorist state, during both times, the World Trade Towers were attacked and so were targets in India, including its Parliament.

It was during the eclipse of my government in 1996 that the Taliban seized all of Afghanistan. It was after my overthrow that Al Qaeda was established In Afghanistan and set up camps to train, recruit and arm young men from across the Muslim world.

Two years after my overthrow, in 1988, Osama Bin Laden declared war on the west from the soil of Afghanistan. Three years later, the Trade Centers were attacked.

The cause of history changed with the change of leadership in Pakistan.

In 2001, the military regime claimed to change course. Following President Bush's ultimatum to stand up and be counted as friend or foe. It said that it had adopted the policy of peace with India and Afghanistan which I had initiated and internally tried to restrain armed militias.

However, extremists groups continue to pose a challenge in Pakistan and in South Asia as the recent New Delhi bombings demonstrate.

The vendetta against Bhutto's daughter, the leader, the military Generals hanged, still continues. I am forced into exile where I now live.

But I have not given up and remain the symbol for a democratic future for my country.

I faced many challenges since 1996. My husband was arrested the night my government was overthrown. He was held hostage to my political struggle for 8 long years. I am continuously told that the web of legal cases woven around my family and myself can be broken if I announce my abdication from political life. I do not do so.

I know that my duty to my people comes first, for the sake of my children and all the children of Pakistan. My duty to Pakistan's democratic struggle is one baptized in blood. During this struggle, I lost both my brothers who were killed in the prime of their lives.

I have three children. They were very small when our troubles started. My youngest was three. I was their sole caretaker when my husband was in prison for 8 years. I believe women can combine career and motherhood.

It is critical that women enter the 21st Century ready to accept the challenges of a modern world.

The Islamic values of Ijma and Ijtihad, give us reasoning power to build a consensus for our times.

Acquiescing to tradition -- a tradition of subjugation of mothers and daughters -- can no longer be accepted.

These are difficult times. Freedom is under assault. Democracy is under assault. We live in an age of terrorism.

But we shall prevail if we reclaim our lives from the fanatics who wish to subjugate women and keep our people ignorant.

When the human spirit was immersed in the darkness of the middle ages in Europe, Islam proclaimed equality between men and women.

Let us remember that Islam introduced divorce, child custody and alimony for the first time in civilization. Islam came as a message of emancipation that put an end to the degradation of women and the burial of the girl child.

It is this tradition of Islam that allowed me my battle for political and human rights. It strengthens me today in this hour of crisis for my family, my nation and myself.

As leader of Pakistan, I ensured the protection of our mothers, sisters and daughters.

The cause of women rights is for me a cause of human rights.

The new century must, for once and for all, exclude the notion of battered women.

It must be an era where honor and dignity are protected in peace, and in war, where women have economic freedom and independence, where women are not defined by their fathers or husbands, but by their own achievements, where they are equal partners in peace and development.

My time in exile has coincided with the era of terrorism and the threat of a clash of cultures, of a miscommunication between the Islamic and Non-Islamic world.

I tried to act as a bridge between different cultures, countries and continents.

I explained the peaceful and tolerant message of Islam to international audiences to correct the misperceptions propagated by the extremists who exploit it to promote their politics of hate.

I visited India to promote a South Asia where there is peace and prosperity through open borders and trade. My political opponents have now accepted the wisdom of the policies for which I was once termed a “security risk.”

When I was at Oxford, I won the Presidency of the Oxford Union debating that “The Pen is more powerful than the Sword.”

I believe in the battle of ideas, and that no force can win a victory against an idea, a policy or a vision that is based on truth and justice.

I still believe the Pen is more Powerful than the Sword although the world has changed since I was a student at Oxford.

The era of peace for which we prayed has become a time for war.

Tolerance has been replaced with terrorism.

There was a time when multi-lateral leadership succeeded in those glorious days when the Berlin Wall fell and freedom swept the Eastern Bloc at the end of the last century.

The peace bonus, when we hoped that poverty would be eliminated by diverting resources used to fight the Cold War, did not materialise.

The stability we hoped to achieve in a unipolar world has degenerated into dangerous unpredictability.

The attack on the World Trade Towers created a new form of unilateral leadership. Now fear replaces hope.

Unilateralism in Iraq has lead to hundreds of thousands Iraqi deaths, 2000 American deaths, and a U.S. national debt of 300 billion dollars.

Natural disasters in the world are fueling economic and political instability. The Tsunami killed a quarter of a million people in December 2004. A devastating earthquake in Northern Pakistan and Kashmir killed 100,000 of my fellow countrymen, rendering millions homeless through a cold and dangerous winter.

The hurricane Katrina created the unsettling image of an American city underwater with a superpower unable to quickly save its own people.

Ladies and gentlemen,

The natural disasters take place against a reconfiguration of the international economy and international wealth.

Many of us believe that demography is destiny, that demographic factors shape economic factors, political factors, and the military balance of power.

The moving finger of demography writes, and having written, moves on. The demographic hand is writing in this very continent of Asia where many predict that the 21st century could be the Chinese century.

New York has 2000 skyscrapers rising from the rock of Manhattan. Yet Shanghai has an astounding 4000 skyscrapers -- twice as many as New York.

The American debt was bought, principally by Japan and China. The financial institutions of the East now underwrite the 200 billion dollars borrowed to rebuild America's Gulf Coast.

The energy situation is another example.

In 1977, U.S. President Jimmy Carter was ridiculed for declaring that the energy crisis was the "moral equivalent of war."

China and India are emerging as two new powers as thirsty for energy consumption as the west.

Increased competition for diminishing energy reserves will force the price of energy in only one direction -- UP. This can further disrupt the economics, politics and social stability of the 21st century.

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is impossible to separate economic justice from political liberty.

I can attest to the price to world peace paid when human rights is not integral to the foreign policy goals of the major democratic players in international affairs.

We learn that, democracy, women's rights, human rights, press freedom are important, but apparently only sometimes.

Violations of these principles lead to international sanctions -- but only sometimes.

Some believe that the imposition of democracy on Iraq would somehow democratize this entire region. But critics claim that an artificial confederation drawn under occupation will remain controversial and short-lived.

I recall that Communism was not defeated by capitalism or by the NATO; it was fundamentally defeated by humanism. The Czech President Vaclav Havel so accurately noted that "communism was not defeated by military force, but by the human spirit, by conscience, by the resistance of man to manipulation.

This is manifest in the large, discontented, and radicalizing Muslim communities in France and across much of Europe. The challenge is to transform alienated Muslim immigrants and their children into integrated members of the nation, convincing them to accept the full obligations of democratic citizenship.

This can not be accomplished through economic subjugation and social ostracism. The way forward is not religious and cultural ridicule. The way forward is through equality, opportunity and respect for cultural and religious pluralism. It is through religious tolerance.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Islam denounces inequality as the greatest form of injustice.

It enjoins its followers to combat oppression and tyranny.

It enshrines piety as the sole criteria for judging humankind.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Despite the constraints of a political system that was all too often rigged against democrats, and a social system that was biased against women, when I became prime Minister of Pakistan I used my office to try to reverse centuries of discrimination.

My tenure was a textbook affirmative action program against gender discrimination. We increased literacy by one-third, even more dramatically among girls.

We brought down the population growth rate by establishing women's health clinics in thousands of communities across our Nation.

We outlawed domestic violence and established special women's police forces to protect and defend the women of Pakistan.

We appointed women judges to our nation's benches for the first time in our history.

We instituted a new program of hiring women police officers to investigate crimes of domestic violence against the women of Pakistan.

We encouraged women's and girl's participation in sports, both nationally and internationally by lifting the ban imposed on their participation.

We held a Muslim Women's Olympics.

We held the first meeting of a Muslim Women's Parliamentary Conference.

The record I accomplished is one in which I have great pride. Despite the reversals in my homeland -- the progress that we made raised the bar of expectations and cannot long be ignored.

In my commitment to political liberty and to democracy, I have never wavered.

Unfortunately, that has not always been the case in the conduct by many great nations of international affairs over the last generation.

Afghanistan is an example of how retreating from the principles of human rights and democracy can have the most tragic consequences.

The overall policy of standing against Soviet aggression in Afghanistan was right. Yet in our admirable zeal to end the Soviet occupation, we did not plan our work for a post-war Afghanistan built on democratic and Islamic principles of coalition, consensus and cooperation.

We were not consistently committed to the values of freedom, democracy, social equality and self-determination that ultimately undermine the basic tenets of terrorism.

We must not make that mistake again.

There must be a middle ground between the internationalist realism theory of the late Hans Morgenthau, constructing power devoid of moral content, and the interventionist internationalism of the neoconservative movements that ignore cultural diversity.

Might doesn't always or necessarily make right. Indeed it was the American President Abraham Lincoln who said that it is "right that makes might."

This mix of realism and idealism was best manifest when The United States, under President Bill Clinton, militarily intervened to stop the genocide of Muslims in the former Yugoslavia.

Was the US strategically threatened? No.

Was it morally threatened by genocide on this planet? Yes.

It should be a guide for the international community on what can be done, what must be done, to successfully confront clear and unambiguous evil.

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is clear to me, that the solution to the paradoxes of the early 21st century can only be achieved by broad consensus. Solutions will not be imposed by political extremes, whether on the left or the right.

The Right would seek to intervene to impose their values and their policies across society.

The Left can take on the aura of elitism and are at times contemptuous of the broad cross section of people in the middle of society who are religious, honest and hardworking, and want nothing more than a secure and decent life for their children.

In so many places on this planet the debate rages between the extremes -- those on the margins of society who have contempt for each other, and for anyone else -- who does not endorse their political agenda.

This is the tragedy of politics throughout the world.

There is a Center, a Sensible Center, a Moderate Center, which is outside the political decision making process.

Ladies and gentlemen,

The Sensible Center may be ignored, but in the end it is the Sensible Center that is the answer.

When political forces, political parties and political leaders can finally come to realize and fully appreciate that they have a fundamental obligation to society, the world can gallop into the unlimited social, educational, global and scientific promise of the 21st century.

It is our job to find answers.

It is our job to find consensus.

It is our job to marginalize the extremes.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Robert F. Kennedy once said that “the future does not belong to those who are content with today..... Rather it will belong to those who can blend vision, reason and courage in a personal commitment to the ideals and great enterprises of society.”

Vision, Reason and Courage.

Those are the true qualities of leadership.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Debunks Regime's Claims of Moderation: Address to Pakistanis in New York New York - January 15, 2006

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure for me to have this opportunity of addressing members of the Pakistani Community here in New York, the financial center of the world.

I thank you for the warmth of your welcome, for your hospitality and your commitment to Quaid-e-Azam and Quaid-e-Awam's great democratic principles.

To all of you, Salaam Aleichem, May Peace Be With You.

We gather together at a difficult time in the South Asian region and in this world.

The international situation in which the world finds itself is not what we would have expected in those glorious days of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War.

The peace dividend -- when the world hoped that the resources of the Cold War could be diverted to international economic and social development -- never materialized.

The stability that we hoped would be achieved in a unipolar world has degenerated into a potentially even more dangerous instability and unpredictability.

Ethnic and religious tensions, long suppressed, have erupted to the surface.

This is not the way we thought it would be just 15 years ago when it appeared that the forces of democracy, human rights and the free market had triumphed and that these positive values would sweep -- unimpeded -- across the planet.

Some things may be out of our control. But most that has happened has been caused -- directly or indirectly -- by choices that have been made by leaders, by governments, by nations.

Governing is about making choices.

Governing is about setting priorities.

Governing is about deciding what is most important, what cannot wait, and what must be addressed now.

Governing is deciding, in the words of the sociologist Harold Lasswell, who gets what, when and how.

This is why it is so very important to have a government that is elected, representative, accountable and responsive to the needs of the people.

Governing can be deciding whether the social sector or the military sector is fully funded.

It can be deciding who is educated, and who is not.

It can be deciding who is fed, and who is not.

It is deciding where roads are built, and where they are not.

It is, most painfully of all, sometimes deciding between life and death.

It is also about building consensus within nations and between nations.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Political miscalculations are compounded by the power of Nature.

We mourn the devastating earthquake in the Northwest Frontier and in Kashmir that has killed 100,000 of our fellow countrymen and left millions of poor and defenseless Pakistanis to fend for themselves, with little support from their own government, through a cold and dangerous winter.

And even as we try to come to terms with an earthquake that shattered so many of our towns and villages, new tensions arise.

In Baluchistan, separatist sentiment is running high. A military operation has been launched. Every day we hear of guerrilla attacks on Pakistani installations.

· Return of Baloch leaders in 1988 by PPP.

The proposal to build Kalabagh Dam threatens to alienate Frontier and Sindh.

Meanwhile General Musharraf went back on yet another promise, the promise he made following the London bombing in July last summer to ensure all foreign students left Pakistani Madrassas by December 2005.

Moreover while political parties have to submit sources of funding to the Election Commission. Schools run by religious leaders do not have to declare sources of funding.

Ladies and gentlemen,

The internal tensions in Pakistan take place at a time when our country is in the grip of a military dictatorship.

Despite the promise to take off his uniform, General Musharraf did not do so following the elections of 2002. He said everything he has introduced in Pakistan's interest would have been derailed if he had relinquished his military

uniform. One day he will have to take off the uniform. This is why plans based on force do not last, whether they are good or bad. Plans based on political participation last because they give legitimacy.

After coming to power, General Musharraf held a referendum like Zia's. The 2002 election were "pre-rigged" to bring a parliamentary majority he wanted. The mainstream parties were also "broken" to create a majority of one in the National Assembly.

While negotiating the 17th Amendment with the MMA, President Musharraf promised that he would step down in 2004. When the year passed and he still retained the uniform, there was a protest against this breach of promise, which damaged his still somewhat positive image. What he has said now will improve it even less. In December 2004, he had given us a different excuse. He had said the MMA had promised something regarding the National Security Council outside of the text of the 17th Amendment, which it had not fulfilled. He asked the MMA to go to the Supreme Court on the issue, while some experts opined that the text of the 17th Amendment had been so manipulated that he could actually stay on wearing two caps. True to his pledge of plain speaking, he has now admitted that he had actually reneged on a pledge given in earnest to the opposition.

The pledges he had made about cleaning up the textbooks, reforming the religious seminaries and bringing the jihadi militias to heel, have not been honoured, damaging his international credibility.

The dictatorship exploits the war against terrorism to stay in power.

The war against terrorism begun after the post-September 11th environment has seen the true nature of Islam distorted by those who would politicize it.

Islam denounces inequality as the greatest form of injustice. Yet Pakistan, the second largest Muslim country of the world, can not provide justice to its people irrespective of whether they are politicians or not.

It enjoins its followers to combat oppression and tyranny.

Yet the shadow of one man rule clouds the future of our country.

Islam enshrines piety as the sole criteria for judging humankind.

But we see that it is political affiliation, gender or minority views that are the criteria for judging humans in our society.

We live in a dictatorship whilst our religion is not only committed to tolerance and equality, but it is committed to the principles of democracy. The Holy Quran teaches that Islamic society is contingent on "mutual advice through mutual discussions on an equal footing."

Beating, torturing and humiliating women is inconsistent with the principles of Islam. But the clothes of a United Nations Rapporteur are torn as a collective warning to women of the humiliation that awaits them if they exercise their constitutional right to protest.

Islam is an open, pluralistic and tolerant religion that positively shapes the lives of one billion people across this planet, including millions upon millions in the growing Islamic populations of Europe and the United States. Yet Muslims and Muslim societies are judged not by the values of Islam but the values of unelected dictators that rule through force.

When the human spirit was immersed in the darkness of the Middle Ages in Europe, Islam proclaimed equality between men and women. But I do not see this culture of equality in the crimes committed against women through honour killings.

The PPP and I believe that it is through freedom, through democracy, through human rights and the rule of law that we can salvage our country and our society from the specter of brutality and barbarism brought about by one man rule.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Information leads to change. Change is something that many fear and will not tolerate. But it was change that the PPP and I devoted myself to in our two terms in government.

We introduced freedom by bringing in the information age. We put an end to the ban on fax machines, digital papers, fiber optic communications, cellular telephones, satellite dishes, computers, Internet, e-mail and introduced private television in Pakistan.

Under our government, Pakistan was the first country in the Muslim world to break the shackles of tradition by electing a woman Prime Minister. We were the first country to break the bondage of centralisation by deregulating , privatizing and opening financial markets. South Asia and the Middle East are now following the road we introduced in 1988 and 1993.

Under the PPP government Pakistan integrated into the global economy became one of the top ten emerging capital markets of the world, attracting over 20 billion dollars in foreign investments, particularly in power generation.

We eradicated polio in our country.

We dramatically reduced infant mortality.

The World Bank held up our economic program as a model to the entire developing world.

Despite institutional and social constraints, when I became prime Minister of Pakistan, the PPP government reversed centuries of discrimination against women.

We increased literacy by one-third, even more dramatically among girls.

We built over 48,000 primary and secondary schools, targeting rural Pakistan.

We brought down the population growth rate by establishing women's health clinics in thousands of communities across our Nation.

We outlawed domestic violence and established special women's police forces to protect and defend the women of Pakistan.

We appointed women judges to our nation's benches for the first time in our history.

We instituted a new program of hiring women police officers to investigate crimes of domestic violence against the women of Pakistan.

We encouraged women's and girl's participation in sports, both nationally and internationally by lifting the ban imposed on their participation.

Sharing Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton's view that the best way to guarantee literate children is to educate literate mothers, the PPP government targeted adult women for remedial education programs.

We refused attempts by reactionary forces within Pakistan to turn into a theocracy. We stopped two such constitutional attempts twice through the Senate.

The PPP governments made extraordinary progress on the international front as well.

We facilitated the formation of an interim government of national consensus in Afghanistan where the moderates and hard liners agreed to co-exist.

We blocked the Taliban's solo show in Afghanistan. Within days of the PPP dismissal, the Taliban invited in Osama Bin Laden and permitted the establishment of Al - Qaida training camps. That critical and strategic mistake paved the way for the attack on the Twin Towers and the repercussions that flowed from it culminating in the Afghan and Iraq wars.

On the India front, we had extraordinary progress with the first nuclear confidence building treaty, the agreement not to attack each other's respective nuclear facilities.

We reopened our borders to travel and tourism, and adopted a south Asian preferential tariff agreement that established a free-trade zone between Pakistan, India and the other nations of the region.

I called upon all the nations of the region to declare the sub-continent a nuclear free zone.

The PPP government was making dramatic progress in relations with India and with containing terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

But moderation and progress is not what supporters of military dictatorship tolerate.

A democratic and stable Pakistan, gaining strength economically and moving forward socially under a popular government was their threat. The PPP government was eliminated and every attempt made to eliminate the party and its leadership.

But ideas and dreams cannot be replaced as easily as a coup against leaders.

The record the PPP accomplished is one in which I have great pride. Despite the reversals in our country, both to the political institutions of democracy and the role of women in society -- the progress that the PPP made raised the bar of expectations and cannot long be ignored.

I view the PPP's commitment to women's rights as consistent with our commitment to human's rights and to the inevitability of democracy. In our commitment to political liberty and to democracy, we have never wavered.

Unfortunately, that has not always been the case in the conduct by many great nations of international affairs over the last generation.

Today a military dictatorship in Pakistan is supported by the international community for short term strategic reasons. I believe that is a mistake.

Afghanistan is a tragic case in point of how retreating from the principles of human rights and democracy can have the most tragic unanticipated consequences. Not planning for a post-war Afghanistan built on democratic and Islamic principles of coalition, consensus and cooperation was a very bad choice.

The goal of the international community's foreign policy agenda must also be to simultaneously promote stability and to strengthen democratic values -- not selectively but universally, not just because it is convenient but also because it is right.

Might doesn't always or necessarily make right. Indeed it was the great American President Abraham Lincoln who said just the opposite, that it is "right that makes might."

This mixture of realism and idealism was best manifest when The United States, under President Bill Clinton, militarily intervened to stop the genocide of Muslims in the former Yugoslavia. Was the US strategically threatened? No. Was it morally threatened by genocide on this planet? Yes.

The universalization of human rights may be the underpinning of internal stability within nation states, and peaceful relations among nation states.

I address this issue from a unique double focus.

I wear the scars -- on my body and my soul -- of the abuse of basic human rights, and thus I view oppression through the eyes of the victim.

In the rhetoric of the West, democracy, women's rights, human rights, and press freedom are important, but apparently only sometimes.

Violations of these principles lead to international sanctions -- but only sometimes.

The world is not yet a fair or just place, and will not be so until each and every country on our planet is treated equally.

If democracy is good for Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine, then democracy, and not dictatorship, should be supported in Pakistan.

Democracy is the first step toward humanity's liberation. But it is not an end in itself.

Liberty and freedom depend on social and economic justice.

Voting does not guarantee justice. An independent judiciary with members who impartially uphold the law does.

Equal rights depend on more than electoral choices. They depend on cultural change and education.

Democracy is not just about elections. It is equally about governing in a manner that is representative, respectful of constitutional provisions, provincial autonomy and the balance of power.

Nations make choices. And choices lead to consequences -- political consequences, economic consequences, social consequences.

Today 58% of the people of Pakistan live on less than \$2/= a day.

But we spend our money building a second General Headquarters next to the one we already have.

The girl who is illiterate has no future. But we spend \$ 1 billion dollars on SAAB aircraft even as we make peace with Indian and make overtures to Israel and therefore face no imminent threat.

Economic development and political development are surely linked, but both depend on respect to human rights and the right economic policies.

We cannot claim to believe in moderate enlightenment if we do not fight for it in our own homes, and in our own homelands.

We can not imprison a speaker of the National Assembly, a Cabinet Minister, the spouse of a Parliamentarian, because we disagree with their choice of political leader and political party.

Here I will take the opportunity to call for the release of Yousaf Raza Gilani, Bismillah Kakar and Pir Mukkram, who have been imprisoned for their political beliefs by the Musharaf dictatorship. I also call for the return of the exiles and a restoration of democracy through impartial elections held by an interim government through an independent Election Commission and an immediate vote count and announcement. While Yousaf Reza Gillani, Bisimullah Kakar and Pir Mukkaram remain behind bars on political grounds. We cannot say Islamabad respects human rights. While elected Prime Ministers are forced into exile, we cannot say Pakistan has human rights. While NAB finds corruption only in the opposition and not in the ruling party, we cannot say Pakistan has Justice.

It is through the empowerment of the people of our nation that we can reclaim the heritage of Quaid-e-Azam and Quaid-e-Awam, that we can confront and defeat social evils in the form terrorism, extremism, militancy, honour killings nor give our youth an opportunity to live a life free of poverty, backwardness, disease and unemployment.

Social inequality leads to political instability, not just in the Middle East, Asia, but also all through the developed world including America and Europe.

This is evident in the large, radicalizing Muslim communities in France and across much of Europe.

The challenge is to make alienated Muslim immigrants and their children feel like fully integrated members of the nation, and to convince them to accept the full obligations of democratic citizenship.

The way to accomplish this certainly is not religious or cultural ridicule.

The way clearly is equality of opportunity, education and respect for cultural and religious pluralism. These are choices that the world community must make.

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is our job to make choices.

It is our job to find answers.

It is our job to marginalize the extremes.

It is our job to act, not just talk.

Realizing that in the time it took me to deliver this speech, over one thousand children have starved to death on this planet.

I want you to know that choices have consequences.

I ask you to make the choices that can help us together build a better Pakistan, a brighter Pakistan, a proud Pakistan, where its people live in peace, progress and prosperity.

I ask you to support the Pakistan Peoples Party and its allies in reclaiming our constitutional and democratic heritage so we can bequeath to our children a better world than we saw.

Avert Clash of Civilizations through Justice and Human Rights Desert Forum - Indian Wells - California USA; 24 January 2005

Islamabad, 25 January 2006: "My country Pakistan is an example of a Nation where the forces of tyranny, terrorism, proliferation and a marginal, yet militant interpretation of Islam mingle to create an extraordinarily dangerous challenge. The democratisation of Pakistan is important to the war against terror, to the interpretation of Islam as a message of freedom and enlightenment as well as to the empowerment of the people of Pakistan".

This was said by the former Prime Minister and Chairperson Pakistan Peoples Party, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto while addressing a distinguished gathering at Desert Forum attended by intellectuals, academics, policy strategists and opinion makers in Indian Wells California, USA today.

She said that the question before the world is whether the path to catastrophe and the clash of civilizations is reversible. "The Pakistani military dictator, General Pervez Musharraf, has made a choice. And his choice is to stand by and let terrorists operate freely the territory of Pakistan. These terrorists may actually control territory where Bin Laden has sanctuary. And the West too has made a choice"

She said that by acquiescing to the Musharraf dictatorship, they have empowered him to defy the world and cooperate with the forces of terror. As in all governing, choices have consequences. The choice to sustain dictatorship in Pakistan has consequences both in the short and long term that threaten the interests of the West as well as the values of democracy in the East. Much of our ability to avert the clash of civilizations lies in learning the lessons of history.

She said that Islam is a religion of moderation, tolerance and equal right for all. "Central to the issue of religion in modern society is the treatment of women. In the post September 11th environment, the true nature of Islam has been so distorted by those who would politicise it, that Islam has become not only something foreign to the rest of the world but also something feared"

She said "There is no religion on earth that, in its writings, is more respectful of the role of women in society than Islam. It is this tradition of Islam that has allowed me to battle for political and human rights, and strengthens me today.

Our religion is not only committed to tolerance and equality, but it is committed to the principles of democracy. The Holy Book says that Islamic society is contingent on "mutual advice through mutual discussions on an equal footing." In Islam dictatorship is never condoned, nor is cruelty. The Q'oran, in its very essence, is an anti-terrorism doctrine, she said.

About the nexus between the extremists and the military dictatorship in Pakistan she said, It is well known that there is sympathy for Bin Laden, the Taliban, and the insurrectionists in Iraq among Pakistan's military and clerical class. These were the two entities used to train the Mujahideen against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. They were armed and supported by the United States, both overtly and covertly. Following the withdrawal of the Soviets, the Mujahideen went on to become in large part the Taliban and Al Qaeda.

She said that Pakistan's military dictatorship has resulted in the domination of the country's political, financial and social class by the military. It has led to the rise in power and importance of fundamentalist religious parties. These religious parties are public supporters of Bin Laden and Mullah Omar of Afghanistan. They have filled the vacuum caused by the military regime's determination to sideline the genuine representatives of the people of Pakistan. Extremism has replaced moderation in a despotic Pakistan, she said.

Regarding the fast diminishing image of the lone Superpower the United States she said, "Sadly, the world's only superpower may have missed a precious opportunity, may have squandered its unipolar moment to truly lead the world socially, economically, politically and militarily. Those who have cautioned the developing world to be responsible and restrained in our fiscal and budgetary priorities have not practiced what they have preached. And mounting Western debt threatens the stability of the interconnected global economy. A problematic intervention in Iraq has lead to tens upon tens of thousands Iraqi deaths, more than 2300 American and British deaths, and an increase in the U.S. national debt

of 300 billion dollars, with no end in sight to the human and financial costs of this tragic miscalculation".

Regarding her achievement during the two tenures in the government and the fear of fundamentalists by change in the society she said, "The extremist's greatest fear, wherever they live, is the spread of information, social equality and democracy. These three principles choke off the oxygen of terrorism. Information leads to change. Change is something that many fear and will not tolerate. I am proud that we methodologically implemented change in Pakistani society. We heralded the information age by introducing fax machines, digital papers, fiber optic communications, cellular telephones, satellite dishes, computers, Internet, e-mail and even bringing CNN to Pakistan".

She said that under her government Pakistan integrated into the global economy and it became one of the top ten emerging capital markets of the world, attracting over 20 billion dollars in foreign investments, particularly in power generation. We eradicated polio in our country. We dramatically reduced infant mortality. The World Bank held up our economic program as a model to the entire developing world. Despite institutional and social constraints, when I became prime Minister of Pakistan I used my office to try to reverse centuries of discrimination against women. My tenure was a textbook affirmative action program against gender discrimination. We increased literacy by one-third, even more dramatically among girls. We built over 30,000 primary and secondary schools, targeting rural Pakistan. We brought down the population growth rate by establishing women's health clinics in thousands of communities across our Nation.

She said that her government outlawed domestic violence and established special women's police forces to protect and defend the women of Pakistan. "We appointed women judges to our nation's benches for the first time in our history. We instituted a new program of hiring women police officers to investigate crimes of domestic violence against the women of Pakistan. I systematically appointed women judges to the courts of the land for the first time. I condemned the so-called honor killings by members of their own families against women. I encouraged women's and girl's participation in sports, both nationally and internationally by lifting the ban imposed on their participation. We believed that the best way to guarantee literate children is to educate literate mothers, and thus my government targeted adult women for remedial education programs. I refused attempts by reactionary forces within my country to turn Pakistan into a theocracy. We have all prayed for a world of reason, of abundant resources, of equality and above all, of peace".

Regarding terrorists threat and the US policy Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto said, "In the closing days of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, during a State visit to America, I cautioned that US policy to defeat the Soviets had empowered and emboldened the most fanatical, extremist elements of the Afghan seven-faction Mujahideen at the expense of the moderates, creating a "Frankenstein" that could come back to haunt us in the future. Yet the early decisions by Western nations with the then-Pakistani regime counterpart to arm, train, supply and legitimise the most extreme fanatics sowed the seeds for the 21s century terrorism that is now swirling around us, she said.

She said that just as the Pakistani dictator Zia ul Haq played the West like a fiddle over Afghanistan, the Pakistani dictator Pervez Musharaf plays America like a fiddle over the war on terror. The fundamental mistake that lead ultimately to the creation of Al Qaeda out of the remnants of the Afghan Jihad and thus contributed to a long-term historical calamity, was that we were not consistently committed to the values of freedom, democracy, social equality and self-determination that ultimately undermine and belie the basic tenets of terrorism.

Regarding the double standards displayed by the West she said, "Unfortunately, we do not always view the world -- its peoples, its cultures and its religions -- with a single moral standard. The West chooses to apply human rights standards when politically expedient, not as a central and universal principle of policy, she said.

She said that only electoral process can not guarantee human liberation and prosperity. She said that liberty and freedom depend on social and economic justice, and above all on the universal, non-selective application of human rights to all citizens of the world. She said that democracy is not just about elections. It is equally about governing.

"Justice is economic independence. Justice is social equality. Nations make choices. And choices lead to consequences -- political consequences, economic consequences, social consequences. And these consequences are intertwined. They are difficult to separate. The child who is starving has no human rights. The girl who is illiterate has no future. The woman who cannot plan her life, plan her family, plan a career, is fundamentally not free -- irrespective of constitutions and elections. Economic development and political development are surely linked, but both are predicated on guaranteed human rights. And the cause of human rights must begin within us, within our individual communities and within our own nations".

Women Leading Change
US Islamic World Forum
Feb 18-20, 2006 - Doha, Qatar

As the first woman ever elected to head an Islamic nation, I feel a special responsibility regarding issues that relate to women.

Women rights must be promoted both by the US and the Islamic countries.

The Quran and the Traditions of the Prophet are the sources from which every Muslim derive their rights and duties.

Today people say that the women's liberation movement began in the 20th century.

Actually- although it is not reflected in Muslim societies - the women's rights movement is as old as Islam.

The Quran is insistent on the full participation of women in the society and the equality of men and women.

Men and women perform Haj, the Muslim Pilgrimage side by side.

In Islam, neither gender can be superior because it would be a contradiction of equality.

Women are also encouraged in Islam to contribute their opinions and ideas. Bibi Khadeja, the wife of the Prophet (PBUH) was the first witness to Islam. She was a working woman, a business woman.

A Muslim woman chooses her husband and keeps her name after marriage.

In terms of human rights, the Quran makes no distinction between men and women.

Islam does not forbid a woman from holding important positions in government. Abdur-Rahman Ibn Auf consulted many women before he recommended Hazrat Uthman to be the Caliph.

The Prophet of Islam (PBUH) preached equal rights for women; now the task before us all is to restore them in the Islamic World.

The fact that four Muslim countries (Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey and Indonesia) have had five female heads of government gives assurance that the problems of women in Islamic societies can be seriously addressed.

To me, there is nothing more unIslamic than discrimination.

There is nothing more unIslamic than violence against women.

And above all, there is nothing more unIslamic than terrorism – the killing of innocent men, women and children.

It is not easy for women in modern society, whether it's in Dhaka, Doha or Dallas.

Even though women's representation has been steadily increasing in parliaments since 1990, women still only occupy a total of 16 percent of seats worldwide.

In the US Senate there are only 13 women Senators, while there are only 3 to 4 women Governors.

In the corporate world, there are currently only 8 female CEOs of Fortune 500 companies. Women hold only 12% of seats on Board of Directors of Fortune 500 companies.

In the Islamic World, there is the perception that a good leader is inherently masculine. This is because men tend to evaluate men more positively and women more negatively. Only recently, there has been representation given to women in Parliaments of certain Islamic countries. Women will be optimistic if there are more women role models in leadership.

Key challenges for women in the next five years.

There needs to be more of a shift in investing in programs that help more women get elected to office and appointed to leadership positions in government to build stronger democracies.

First Education:

Education leads to job opportunities – opportunities that are critical to the empowerment of women.

Second Judicial Representation:

Gender equality is essential to the dispensation of justice.

Third Law Enforcement:

We need women in the police force and also police stations entirely run by women to address the difficulties and social stigma women face when wishing to report crimes against them.

Fourth Media:

Many women are ignorant of their rights. An advertising campaign can inform women that violence against them by their family members is illegal.

Fifth Hostels for Women:

Women's hostels are important so that women have a place of shelter if abused by members of their family.

Sixth: Availability of child care centers to facilitate women who wish to work.

Seventh Credit for Women:

Women need access to credit to establish business of their own.

My Government opened a woman's bank, run by women for women, -- although men could keep their money in it too if they wanted - because we believed that economic independence is the key to social equality.

This is the model of an Islamic society that must be sustained as one billion Muslims reach a critical path in development.

There is a choice.

Education or ignorance.

The past or the future.

And central to this fork in the road is the status of women in Islamic societies. Because where opportunities for women flourish, extremism withers.

And at this critical time, this time of crisis, I see signs of change that make me optimistic about the future.

The model to expand rights for women has been embraced by several young, progressive, reformist leaders -- King Mohamed VI of Morocco, King Abdullah of Jordan, Sheik Hamad of Qatar and the leaders of the United Arab Emirates. These leaders are engaging in the delicate exercise of pushing women forward to jump start societal change.

Step by step, empowerment cannot be denied.

Economic empowerment,

Legal empowerment,

The right to vote.

The right to hold office.

The right to lead.

Do women lead differently.

And I do think that women lead differently.

Maybe it's stereotypical, but I think that women leaders are more nurturing and sensitive to the social needs of society. Invariably, women's rights lead to further modernization of society as educational, housing and health needs are finally met.

The US and the Islamic world can accelerate this process by making democracy and pluralism a center piece of bilateral relations.

But let us be frank. Democracy -- alone -- is not enough.

Empowerment is not only the right to become a Prime Minister.

Empowerment is the right to be economically independent.

Empowerment is the right to be educated and make choices.

Empowerment is the right to have the opportunity to select a career.

Empowerment is the right to own property, to start a business, to flourish in the marketplace.

Empowerment is the right to rationally plan and balance profession and family.

So, ladies and gentlemen, the task of women over the next decade is multidimensional.

The next decade cannot be a decade of confrontation and contention.

It cannot be east vs. West.

It cannot be men vs. women.

It cannot be Islam vs. Christianity.

That is what the enemies of dialogue want.

We can succeed by remaining true to the values of equality, democracy, pluralism and development.

I thank the Amir of Qatar and the Brookings Institute for bringing us together here in Doha to exchange views on the future.

Democracy in Muslim World and Pakistan essential to avert dangers
John Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies
February 6, 2007

Islamabad February 7, 2007: Former Prime Minister and Chairperson of the Pakistan Peoples Party Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto has said that democracy in Pakistan and the Muslim world at large was crucial at this point of time to avert the dangers posed to its future by terrorism and sectarianism.

She was addressing the John Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies in the US Tuesday afternoon on "Pakistan: Politically at the Cross roads".

The democratization of Pakistan is important to the war against terror, to the interpretation of Islam as a message of freedom and enlightenment as well as to the empowerment of the people of Pakistan, she said.

She said there was an opportunity this year for the restoration of democracy because of the general elections. Free and fair elections were critical for the restoration of democracy and that is why the PPP had prepared a paper which she said must be adopted by the rulers if they were really committed to holding

free and fair polls as claimed by it. She said that the Party was still waiting to hear from the Chief Election commissioner to whom a copy of the paper had already been sent.

The best exit route for the Musharraf's military regime was to adopt the ARD demand that a national government be formed to hold fair and free elections with election reforms as suggested by the Opposition.

It has become vital to save the federation from disintegration, terrorism and poverty and this could be done through holding a free, fair and transparent elections under an impartial and independent Election Commission. She asked the Chief Election Commission to take notice of pre-rigging efforts of the government party including the campaign by General Musharraf in favour of the King's Party. She said that the nation needed and deserved free and transparent elections.

She said that the Opposition believes that the elections cannot be free and fair under an army Chief occupying the office of the President. She said that the assemblies elected for five years terms couldn't elect a President twice giving him ten years as President. She said that the government should read the writing on the wall as international analysts are of the view that holding free and fair elections may result in the victory for the Pakistan Peoples Party.

She said that by acquiescing to the Musharraf dictatorship, the west has empowered him to defy the world and cooperate with the forces of terror.

Unfortunately, we do not always view the world -- its peoples, its cultures and its religions -- with a single moral standard, she said adding that the West chooses to apply human rights standards when politically expedient, not as a central and universal principle of policy.

By supporting military dictatorship the west was inadvertently supporting militancy and terrorism, she said.

Regarding her achievement during the two tenures in the government she said that revolution in information technology, integration into the global economy, attracting over 20 billion dollars in foreign investments, particularly in power generation, eradication of polio and dramatic reduction in infant mortality were some of the achievements. Outlawing domestic violence, establishing special women's police forces to protect and defend the women and appointment of women judges to our nation's benches for the first time in its history were the achievements of PPP governments under her leadership.

Debunking the claim of moderation she said, "We cannot claim to believe in moderate enlightenment if we do not fight for it in our own homelands. We cannot say Islamabad respects human rights. While elected Prime Ministers are forced into exile, we cannot say Pakistan has human rights. While NAB finds corruption only in the opposition and not in the ruling party, we cannot say Pakistan has Justice".

She said that international support for the military dictatorship in Pakistan for short-term strategic reasons was a mistake. Afghanistan was a tragic case in point of how retreating from the principles of human rights and democracy can have the most tragic unanticipated consequences.

The goal of the international community's foreign policy agenda must also be to simultaneously promote stability and to strengthen democratic values -- not selectively but universally, not just because it is convenient but also because it is right, she said.

About the political situation in Pakistan she said that military dictatorship has resulted in the domination of the country's political, financial and social class by the military. Twenty five years of military rule since 1977 had led to the rise of extremist religious parties, militancy, poverty, hunger, unemployment, conflict and sectarianism she said, adding, "only by the restoration of civilian control and supremacy the tide could be reversed".

On relations with India she said that the PPP supported peaceful and negotiated settlement of all disputes between India and Pakistan.

It was during the PPP government that extraordinary progress was made with the first nuclear confidence building treaty not to attack each other's nuclear facilities. Borders were reopened to travel and tourism, and a South Asian preferential tariff agreement that established a free-trade zone between Pakistan, India and the other nations of the region was adopted. She said that the PPP government also called upon all the nations of the region to declare the sub-continent a nuclear free zone.

The PPP government she said was making dramatic progress in relations with India and with containing terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan but moderation and progress is not what supporters of military dictatorship tolerate.

A democratic and stable Pakistan, gaining strength economically and moving forward socially under a popular government was their threat. The PPP government was eliminated and every attempt made to eliminate the Party and its leadership, she said.

She said that restoration of democracy in Pakistan was lined with stability in Pakistan and Afghanistan. In this context she said that the peace treaty with elements in the Waziristan had failed because act of terrorism both in Pakistan and Afghanistan not only continued to take place but were even stepped up in intensity. She said that the poor and the middle classes could prosper only in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity in which the people were not held hostage to militancy.

The former Prime Minister also called upon the moderate forces in both the Muslim and the Non Muslim world to cooperate to promote equality and religious tolerance. "We can do this only if we adhere to the values of democracy, equality and development on a non discriminatory and non-selective basis".

She said that the Charter of Democracy signed by the majority of the Opposition is a document, which strengthens the federation, guarantees justice for all and peace and development for the people of Pakistan.

The lesson of the history is that democracy and development go together. Democracy gives the country honour and pride whereas dictatorship leads to neglect of peoples problems, undermining of the armed forces and culmination of conflicts of several types.

She said that through freedom and the rule of law Pakistan can return to the path of progress and development.

It is time to get our priorities right and putting country's resources into education, health and providing the necessities of life to the people, she said.

Can Indo Pak Relations be Reinvented India Today Conclave - New Delhi ; March 24, 2007

It is a privilege for me to join you this evening at India Today's Conclave in New Delhi, to discuss the Challenges for the Brave New World.

I first came to India as a teenager visiting Simla with my Father in 1971.

I still remember the warmth and affection with which the people of India greeted me although we were supposed to be the enemy.

Following the Simla Agreement signed between Prime Ministers Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1972, I came away with the strong feeling that peace between India and Pakistan must endure.

It gives me great satisfaction that since the signing of the Simla Agreement thirty five year ago, India and Pakistan, although engaged in conflict, did not go to full war against each other.

The enormity of this is better understood when we appreciate that between 1947 and 1971, a period of twenty five years, India and Pakistan fought three wars.

As Prime Minister of Pakistan, I worked with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to build on the spirit of Simla. Our governments signed the first major agreements since Simla, the agreements not to attack each others nuclear installations in 1988 amongst others.

In 1988, at the SAARC leaders' summit at Islamabad, I proposed that we transform SAARC from a cultural organization into an economic one. The South Asian Preferential Tariff Agreement was born as a consequence.

In 1999 at the Indo Pak Parliamentarians Conference in Islamabad I proposed that India, Pakistan and all the countries of South Asia put aside their differences to create a common market to eliminate poverty, hunger, unemployment and backwardness. Through soft borders.

So, ladies and gentlemen, I believe that Indo Pak relations can be creatively re-invented.

Time stands still for no one. The moving finger of history writes and having written, moves on.

We have a choice. The choice is ours to write a success story of free markets, liberty, human rights, gender equality, common values of tolerance and understanding.

The Pakistan Peoples Party and I, even in Opposition, have tried to write a success story co-authored with all the intellectuals, political parties and leaders of both our countries who truly believe that the future welfare of humanity in our part of the world lies in cooperation.

I see the world in terms of competing economic blocs that can best function in an environment of peace and security. I see the world as one where the have nots

can conquer poverty if we come together in an economy of scale as Europe has done.

For these ideas, and for seeking peaceful relations with India, I was once called, a "security risk" by my critics.

But ideas cannot be killed by character assassination or by repression. In time, my political opponents as well as the military establishment of my country realized the importance of peace as a quality that makes or breaks a nation.

I am proud that today India and Pakistan are discussing ways and means to have open borders, trade and travel. We still have a long way to go, but the journey has begun. Of course the danger is there of the derailment of the peace process. Both our countries nearly came to war in 1999 in the icy glaciers of Siachen.

Both our armies stood eye ball to eye ball in a deadly year long confrontation following a terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament in December 2001. The recent attack on the Samjhota Express this year once again demonstrated the fragility of a peace process which can be disrupted by a deadly act of violence.

We know now that there is a consensus amongst the political parties of India and Pakistan, a consensus between our military and security establishments that peace must be established. We also agree that the one serious danger to the peace process comes from militants and terrorists. Therefore the challenge for us is to dismantle the militant cells so that they cannot hold the foreign policy of two independent nations hostage to their acts of terrorism.

In this connection, I welcome the decision by both India and Pakistan to work together on anti-terrorism efforts and to share information in this regard. This is a positive step forward.

I commend Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and the Government of India for refusing to rise to the terrorist bait in blaming Islamabad when a militant strikes its target. The militants are the enemies of peaceful relations, peaceful relations that both our countries want and desire.

Both the governments of India and Pakistan are declaring their deep desire to resolve the Kashmir Dispute, to build peaceful relations and to work for greater economic cooperation.

I welcome this effort to re-invent our relations.

Many well wishers advised me to oppose the present peace process between India and Pakistan for two reasons. First, they saw it lacking legitimacy as Pakistan is presently governed by a military regime which holds onto power by virtue of its army constituency.

Secondly, since Indo Pak relations and the Kashmir Dispute excite passions easily, it was felt that opposing the peace process as a "sell out" would help mobilize public opinion against the military dictatorship and facilitate the restoration of democracy.

The restoration of democracy is a cause dear to my heart.

It is a cause for which my Father and brothers laid down their lives as did hundreds of our party workers and others belonging to the democratic opposition.

It is a cause for which my husband cumulatively spent eleven years in prison without a conviction and for which my brothers, mother and I spent long years in exile. However, my Party and I did not seek the easy route to create mass frenzy. We believe that the future happiness of the people of South Asia, a happiness flowing from a peaceful environment providing opportunities for our youth was too important to be lost in an internal political battle in Pakistan.

I do agree that there are issues of legitimacy involved when a non representative government negotiates as the people are not co-opted. The tribal situation in Pakistan, where the Taliban have regrouped is an example. Despite 80,000 troops being sent into the area to clear the militants, a peace treaty was signed with them.

This proves the point that without political participation, it is very difficult to make lasting advances.

Today it is a matter of satisfaction for those of us who envisaged open borders, trade and travel between India and Pakistan, before it became fashionable to do so to witness the Pakistani military dictatorship sign on to the peace process and commit itself to resolving issues with India in a peaceful manner without prejudice to our differing views on Kashmir.

There are voices that claim that the present peace process with India is an eye wash meant to cover the regime in election year to neutralize the Indian lobby.

They argue that after stage managing the elections schedule in Pakistan later this year, all it will take is one more militant attack to recreate the tensions that have marred Indo Pak relations in the past. However, once again I do not believe that we should base our political policies on fear.

I believe the challenge for the future is to re-invent our policies so that we build them on hope.

For that hope to be formalized we will have to deal with the issue of both militancy and terrorism.

Militancy and terrorism are the roots of violence, senseless destruction and loss of lives.

We have to protect innocent people of our countries by each one of us working for the dismantlement of militant groups, the elimination of terrorism and the promotion of interfaith tolerance and harmony. These objectives are all the more important in this the 60th anniversary of the independence of both of our countries.

I wonder how many in this audience were present when the British set midnight of August 14th 1947 as the hour for the clock to strike freedom.

It was an exciting moment in history when the people of India gained their separate Nations. Yet it was also one of pain.

Innocent people were killed because they were either Muslims fleeing to Pakistan or Hindus fleeing to India.

And more blood was shed of our citizens who died in the many wars and acts of terror experienced since we both got our freedom from the British.

In this the 60th year of our independence, I propose that the leadership of India and Pakistan put an end to this destructive chapter in the lives of our countries. I propose that on the 60th anniversary of our Nations this August they meet to declare their commitment to bring us the permanent tranquility and progress and prosperity that two neighboring countries must have.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have made trade, not conflict with India, a top priority of my forthcoming electoral campaign in Pakistan. At 60 years we must pledge an end to war, terrorism and death.

Sixty years of freedom gives us the maturity to change our direction dramatically.

I am committed to bringing peace between our two countries. My commitment to peace began when I was a young child. I lived through the bombings of the 1965 war between our countries.

I heard the stories of the dead and of the homes destroyed, of the terrible destruction of infrastructure putting both our developing countries further back in their quest to modernise.

I saw my Mother rushing to help the soldiers and their families, help the wounded and the injured.

As a student at Harvard University in America, I joined up with fellow students to protest the Vietnam War, a war that they felt was unjust and did not want to fight. Since then I have seen many more conflicts on television in the Middle East, in Afghanistan, between Iran and Iraq and in Iraq. The more I see of the devastation of war, of how the vultures descend to feed on the bodies of dead children, the more I am convinced that we must keep our region secure and peaceful. We cannot fail our children.

India and China both have a dispute but they do not go to war against each other.

We must learn from this model to develop our own relations. As an undergraduate at Harvard University, I met your late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. I witnessed the first peace agreement signed by our two countries. In the words of the famous American Secretary of State Dean Acheson, I was "Present at the Creation" of the peace movement between our two countries.

I am proud of the fact that during my two tenures in office, neither of our peoples or armies had to face a Kargil like situation.

I am proud of the fact that during both of my two tenures in office, there were no terrorist attacks on Indian targets such as the Bombay Blasts or the Indian Parliament Blast. It is not easy to keep the peace but my government did so and reined in the militants too.

On a separate note, we brought peace to Karachi taking on the militants there and we brought peace to our tribal areas taking on the militias of the narco barons in those mountains. My Government had the capacity to build nuclear weapons but we chose to remain a nuclear capable state instead of turning

ourselves into a nuclear weaponised state. We had the confidence in our people and in our ability to defend ourselves without involving ourselves in adventures which could only turn the clock back on the pursuit of progress for all the people of South Asia who are shackled with backwardness and poverty.

One of the ways that I tried to re-invent the relationship between Pakistan and India was to involve military and intelligence personnel in the process. In this connection, we established intelligence to intelligence contact with a view to help formal diplomacy. Additionally we proposed the induction of retired military officials in the track two discussions.

With terrorism now a global issue, cooperation between India and Pakistan to work on eliminating terrorism from the region offers an important opportunity to reinvent the relationship. Therefore it is a welcome development that following the summit meeting in Cuba last year in September both Islamabad and Delhi have agreed on an exchange of terror-related intelligence through quarterly meetings. I know that the hotline established by Rajiv Prime Minister Gandhi and myself between the military headquarters of our two countries has played no small part in preventing escalation of tensions in the relations between the two countries. Ladies and Gentlemen, we live in societies where there are islands of opulence amongst oceans of misery.

It is wrong, morally wrong that the gap between the rich and the poor should be so huge that some people do not have food to eat or a job to give them dignity. I find it so difficult to understand how in the third millennium so many should die because they do not have drinking water or the water they have is contaminated.

We should band together to fight hunger and disease. We should band together to fight discrimination and bigotry against minorities. We should band together in a political and economic condominium that could be a model to the entire world of the what the future hold. These are the real issues that confront our masses.

There is much that the countries of South Asia can learn from each other.

All the countries of South Asia, except Burma and Pakistan, have civilian control over the military and therefore over the conduct of their nations in foreign policy. As the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 proved in America, civilian control of the military is essential to the safety and development of a country. Bringing peace between our two countries will help make that happen.

The Cuban Missile Crisis showed that if the American military had had its way, the Americans would have made war against the Soviets. American President John F. Kennedy prevented a war that could have killed 100 million Americans.

Former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and I have signed a Charter of Democracy committed to a framework of peace and justice for the people of Pakistan. The Charter of Democracy commits both our parties to friendship and peace with India.

Last year American President George W. Bush said in his annual State of the Union address.

"Dictatorships shelter terrorists and feed resentment and radicalism, and seek weapons of mass destruction. Democracies replace resentment with hope, respect the rights of their citizens and their neighbors, and join the fight against terror."

I agree with President Bush on the nature of dictatorships. I have dedicated my life working for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan.

In the last election of October 2002, I was not allowed to fight that contest. Yet despite international observers calling the elections "flawed", the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) which I head, was still the largest vote getter at nearly 26 % of the vote almost similar to that of the Congress Party in the elections of 2004. Unfortunately the Parliamentary session was indefinitely postponed to fracture my support. If not I would have formed a government like Mrs Sonia Gandhi did after the 2004 election.

I am fully on the side of the people. My late and beloved father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, named our party - the Pakistan People's Party. We have a long history of fighting for the people of Pakistan.

I have fought dictators and oligarchs before. I will fight them again in the election campaign of 2007, and I intend to win.

Some have asked why I am returning to Pakistan.

The answer is very simple Pakistan is my home. And I have long ago accepted my responsibilities of leadership. I didn't choose this life. It chose me.

I have been honored by the people of Pakistan to be twice elected their Prime Minister. During the time of my service in that role, the religious parties never had more than 3% representation in our National Assembly.

A democratic Pakistan standing next to a democratic India and a democratic Afghanistan can start to turn around our part of the world.

On the issue of Kashmir, we must make a viable peace. This is a solvable problem that must not take further lives.

Pending a final settlement, I agree with the statement of your Prime Minister supporting an autonomous Kashmir running much of its own affairs. A Commission can be established between the two countries and the leaders of Kashmir themselves to work out what should be done in foreign and defense affairs.

While working out the solution to Kashmir we should not allow slow progress on it to be an obstacle to work in other cooperative matters.

There are several ways to reinvent our relations. These include through economic integration and trade, business cooperation, media exchanges, transportation links between our two countries, the energy requirements of our economies, sports and entertainment events, cooperation in the Information Technologies, the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, in medicine, education and agriculture.

Let us remember:

1. Economic integration and trade brought Europe the peace and prosperity it has enjoyed since World War Two concluded. The Europeans started the European Coal and Steel Community. Jean Monnet, a French economist and Robert Shuman, the French Foreign Minister, saw this vital industry as critical to those wishing to wage war.

They brought the major European countries together to control steel and coal thereby stopping the war making capacity of the individual European nations, especially of France and Germany.

It was the first step that the Europeans took to blunt the instruments of war making within their continent.

There is no reason we in this sub-continent cannot do the same.

A dear friend who helped bring China and the United States together told me that the total two way trade between the US and China before 1972 was just \$25 million INDIRECT trade mostly through Hong Kong.

Now in 2007 US-China direct trade is over \$200 billion. That trade and other factors have made China the huge economic engine it has now become.

That is the kind of future that awaits our people if we can reinvent our relations.

2. Regarding transportation links: a start has been made with the bus journey between Srinagar and Muzzafarabad and the train between New Delhi and Lahore. We must increase those links, eliminate visa restrictions and remember that when we can travel between France and Germany - two old enemies - the train or bus does not stop any more for police and customs checks.

Energy resources are vital to our economies. The closest readily accessible energy source of hydrocarbons is in Central Asia. My government implemented my Father's proposal to build Gwadar Port in Balauchistan, Pakistan's largest province, to bring Central Asian gas and oil to world markets through Pakistan. My government agreed to building pipelines for oil and gas to be pumped across Pakistan to India.

I intend to make these plans a top priority of my country -to bring these gas and oil pipelines from Central Asia to the people of Balauchistan in Pakistan and to export them to India. It is vital to our economies and our industry.

The political instability of Afghanistan hampers trade with Central Asia. Therefore controlling terrorism in the tribal areas of Pakistan is a priority for my people and for the government we hope they will elect us to make. A peaceful and democratic India, Pakistan and Afghanistan can bring enormous benefits in this program of bringing new energy resources to all of our economies.

In addition, Pakistan has one of the richest shale deposits in the world. A new low-cost technology now is available to get useable energy from the shale and the residue in water.

We will share both the technology and the product with you.

4. We have all seen the excitement of our peoples when one sport team visits each others countries. These exchanges must happen frequently without governmental interference. Let the fans from Lahore come and cheer their teams playing in Bombay or Calcutta or visa versa.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan controlled Kashmir Sardar Attique has welcomed investment from all regions and religions of the world, including from Indian

controlled Kashmir. He has offered gas and electricity across the Line of Control. Discussing such proposals can help bring us closer.

The devastating earthquake in 2005 demonstrated that disaster recognizes no geographical borders. People on both sides of the Line of Control in Kashmir were killed, injured and lost their homes and loved ones. It was a terrible tragedy and awoke in our minds the need for us to work together even on issues such as disaster control.

The entertainment industry is huge in India and growing in Pakistan. There must be no boundaries between our countries in this area too.

5. Both of our countries exploded nuclear devices in May 1998. We have now proved to each other and the world that we are firmly in the group of elite countries that have nuclear weapons. We do not have to prove our military prowess anymore.

We do need to continue investing in an area that brings little economic return to our peoples and countries.

Let us turn our investment and co-operation towards the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The people of France get 80 per cent of their power generation of electricity from nuclear methods.

I have just mentioned a very few of the areas in which we can co-operate. Many more exist.

Across from the United Nations Headquarters in New York City there is a small peace park with an inscription that says:

"They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: a nation shall not lift up sword against another nation, neither shall they learn war anymore."

Or, as Mahatma Gandhi said, "An eye for an eye only makes the whole world blind."

Let us serve the people we all love by bringing peace to these lands we all love!

Thank you for the honour of speaking before you.

Ideas Live On
Pakistan Community Function
Denmark - April 22, 2007

I recall that President John F. Kennedy once said “Men die, nations may rise and fall, but an idea lives on”. The idea of democracy has survived tyranny over centuries since it was first practiced in ancient Greece.

When the 21st century dawned, the seeds of a new future had been planted. Power began to shift from the might of armies to the strength of the intellect. While military strength continued to be important, it was no longer critical in defining the greatness of a nation. Instead as Mr. Winston Churchill foretold “The empires of the future, will be the empires of the mind”.

In our times an individual’s education, intelligence and wisdom creates cumulatively the wealth of a nation. Therefore the investment in an individual, through education and health, will determine the quality of our society and the future of our people.

The Information Revolution has created, “the death of distance”. Communication costs are down helping to create a global community that transcends territory, culture and multiple languages.

We are witnessing a new divide between the advantaged global citizen and the disadvantaged local citizen. The challenge is to ride the crest of the new order By learning global values while retaining our cultural roots and languages.

Scientists today are discovering the secrets of the human gene which contains the story of our life. Stem cells promise to have as much impact as the discovery of Penicillin once did in affecting the age we can live up to.

As life span increases, so do the demands on our social services and civic structure. Can we cope if we continue to stress the values of the past in seeking greatness while ignoring the demands of a new century very different in its direction?

We need to ask what we can do to shape our future in terms of the new challenges. While global economies offer more opportunity for individuals trained to take advantage of them we also face problems. These problems include the threat from terrorism, climate change and diseases like Aids and Alzheimers as well as the poverty that affects one in six people born in the world today.

In one of the greatest ironies of our times, the rich die from eating too much food and the poor die from malnutrition.

Against the backdrop of this canvas, a new generation seems increasingly interested in non-stop entertainment. This entertainment is available through ipods, the internet, television and readily available dvds. Discussions are often made on the spur of the moment through the press of a send button or a text message. The reflection and thought of the past is giving way to the speed of the future.

What kind of future we the people of Pakistan build depends on the nature of our political system, the strength of our judiciary and the use of our economic resources.

Can, we, a nation addicted to military rule and military assistance, reform our society by investing in the future of our children?

Our journey in answering this question reaches a critical point before the end of this year as we head towards parliamentary, and possibly presidential elections.

For too long our Federation has remained under the shadow of military rule. Between 1977-2007, a passage of 30 years, we have been under direct or indirect military rule for 25 years. Thus the problems of terrorism, sectarianism, militancy, extremism, intolerance and increase in poverty are directly related to the prolonged period of military domination of our society.

As the crisis over the suspension of the Chief Justice of Pakistan's Supreme Court demonstrates, justice in our country is elusive.

Despite Islam's emphasis on Adal wa Insaf, justice has systematically been undermined by the military rule. In 1977 the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, Chief Justice Yaqub, was removed by a martial law order. In 2007 another Chief Justice was removed. In between the dictators relied on the likes of controversial judges whose judgments were ridiculed the world over.

Islamabad's dictatorship takes strength from strategic developments. These include resistance against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the global war against terror. These strategic developments have provided Western support for military rulers.

For decades our economic approach has been to rent out our army's services for fighting various causes like Communism or Terrorism. Since a crisis or a threat brings with it political power for the Generals, large amounts of covert funds

plus military and economic assistance, there is little incentive to build peace in place of conflict, restore security in place of crisis or allow the empowerment of the people in place of subjugating them through militias or abuse of state power.

Military domination of the political system is not in the national interest. It led to the breakup of the country in 1971. At the time Al Badar and Al Shams groups played havoc. Now it is a series of groups like the Lashkar e Tayyaba or Jaish Mohammad which control small armies. In fact even Imams, like the Imam of Lal Masjid, can call upon madrassas to provide militants for paralysing the government.

The danger of fueling the fire of religious militancy is that it could become a self-fulfilling prophesy.

According to published reports a former Pakistan Air Force Chief stated that Pakistan's ruling classes were "addicted to aid". An American Congressman recently observed, "There doesn't seem to be any problem in Pakistan that can't be cured with a little more U.S. assistance".

In the last six years, Islamabad received nearly \$ 5 Billion in aid. An extra \$ 100 Million are given monthly in coalition support funds. The amount for covert transfers of funds must be at least this high if not higher. Huge amounts of funds have come into the country but it has not trickled down to the people. It has not improved the lives of our people even though additionally our loans have been rescheduled for our support in the war on terror. We have a right to ask why this money has not translated into poverty eradication or increase in the salaries of our doctors and teachers or greater job opportunities for our people.

Significant flow of Western aid to Pakistan has been to military rulers. USAID figures indicate that between 1954 and 2002, Washington provided \$ 12.6 Billion in economic and military aid to Pakistan. Of this, 75% (\$ 9.19 Billion) went to military rulers over 25 years and 25% (\$3.4 Billion) to civilian governments over 19 years.

Pakistan faces enormous problems including those of poverty, terrorism, militancy and extremism. It is obvious that these cannot be solved through the model of a rentier military class. The path to progress and civilization does not lie in threat perceptions. The path to a bright future lies in creating the noble quality of peace, the message that is enjoined upon all Muslims and is common to all religions.

It lies in creating harmony in society through consensus as well as ensuring that the light of justice spreads throughout the dark corners of the country.

It is restoration of democracy that can lead to regional peace as well as internal stability. Let us not forget that an army operation in Baluchistan threatens the unity and integrity of our country. It is by disbanding militias that we can save our people from sectarianism and religious persecution.

A fractured, bleeding society is calling to all its sons and daughters to hear its call, to revive the spirit of Quaid e Azam and Quaid e Awam's struggle to save our people and our land from the dark shadow of military rule which has blotted out the sun of the people's dreams, hopes and aspirations.

It is with unity of thought, spirit and action revive the democratic system. It is through the dignity, respect and service of our people that we as a Federation can once again regain the high ground to accept the challenge of the twenty first century, to accept and win in the age of the global community and global citizen while still remaining proud of our history and our heritage.

Speech on Islam

Kiev, Ukraine, April 26, 2007

Assalam Alaikum. May peace be with you.

I stand before you not only as the first female Prime Minister of my nation and the leader of the opposition, but also as a woman, a wife and a mother.

I stand before you as a woman proud of my cultural and religious heritage.

I want to use this opportunity, speaking to many of you here today who are not Muslims, to tell you about the Islam I was taught.

Islam taught me that men and women are equal in the eyes of God. It is this message of Islam that has empowered me, has strengthened me, and has emboldened me.

The Prophet's wife, Bibi Khadija, was a rich and successful businesswoman. Throughout the Holy Koran, there is example after example of women as leaders, women being respected, women as equals.

It is this tradition of Islam that has allowed me to battle for political and human rights, and strengthens me today.

Islam denounces inequality as the greatest form of injustice.

It enjoins its followers to combat oppression and tyranny.

It enshrines piety as the sole criteria for judging humankind.

It shuns race, color and gender as the basics of distinction in society.

Islam is not only committed to tolerance and equality, but it is committed to the principles of democracy.

The Muslim Holy Book says that Islamic society is contingent on -- “mutual advise through mutual discussions on an equal footing.”

“Consultation” under the Koran, demands that public decisions be made by representative personalities, by men and women who enjoy the confidence of the people and the integrity of their own character.

“Consensus” provides a basis for majority rule.

And in the third element of Islamic democracy -- “independent judgment” Islam permits each generation to create a dynamic response to their period in time.

There are many similarities between Islam and the Judeo-Christian traditions. These three great religions were born in the cradle of the Middle East. The word “Muslim” actually means those who follow the Prophets Moses, Jesus and Mohammad.

The Koran has a chapter on Mary, the Mother of Jesus, whose Arabic name is Maryam. As in Christianity, the Koran speaks of the miraculous birth of Jesus and of his healing powers. It quotes the infant Jesus saying in his cradle, “God commanded me to pray and to give alms so long as I live, and to cherish my Mother”.

Muslims believe that paradise lies at the feet of the Mother.

Like other great religions, Islam is a moral compass for its followers that gives faith and hope and offers a path for the redemption of the soul on the day of Judgement.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The fanatics who exploit the name of Islam do not speak for the Muslim people.

In this the twenty first century, the Muslim people search for freedoms that exist in other parts of the world. They search for a society that is representative and accountable and which they determine for themselves.

And as part of that search, I prepare to return to Pakistan, to support my country's movement for the restoration of democracy through the holding of fair, free and impartial elections.

The people of Pakistan closely followed Ukraine's movement for democracy. We gain inspiration from the Orange Revolution that took place.

And if elections in my country are rigged, we hope to emulate your orange revolution through public demonstrations and peoples power.

It is through democracy, diversity and pluralism that we can together build a world of interfaith understanding and tolerance, a world free from terrorism.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, and in the words of the Prophet of Islam,

"Spread peace between yourselves"

Battle for Democracy Not Easy

Signing Ceremony of Autobiography; Dubai - May 03, 2007

1. Former Prime Minister and Chairperson of the Pakistan Peoples Party Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto has said that the battle for democracy has not been an easy one but "I have never wavered in my commitment to democracy".
2. "I believe that the restoration of democracy is critical to the future direction of Pakistan and to the South Asian Region".
3. She was speaking at the signing ceremony of her autobiography in Dubai Thursday afternoon. The autobiography she said had been refurbished to share with a new generation her life as a Muslim woman in a largely Muslim country.
4. The tragedies, the triumphs, the turbulence in Pakistani society mirror my life as a woman, a political activist and as a Muslim, she said.

5. She said that as a woman she felt a special responsibility towards women everywhere. As Prime Minister I opened up job and credit opportunities for women in the country, she said adding, "My political struggle became a treatise of Islam and the rights of women"

6. Long before terrorism or religious extremism became part of the international discourse, she confronted those forces in Pakistan, she said.

7. The former Prime Minister said that the burgeoning movement for women's rights empowered and emboldened her. "I had always been inspired by the example of Bibi Khadija, the wife of the Holy Prophet of Islam, who was a working woman and the first to give witness to the revelation of the Holy Quran".

8. But above all, in England and America I saw the awesome power of the people changing policies and changing history, she said.

9. Speaking of her personal ordeal she said that she lost her two brothers who were both victims of political assassination and her husband spent eleven and a half years of our married life behind prison walls.

10. "I was imprisoned for almost six years as was my Mother. We were hunted, hounded and exposed to psychological warfare to break our spirit. Our faith in God, the people of our country and the righteousness of our cause sustained us through the bitter days and nights", she said.

11. Recalling her last meeting with her father in the Jail she said "When I took my leave of him from the dark death cell in which the tyrants had imprisoned him, I promised to keep alive his dream of a democratic Pakistan".

12. "Since then I have never wavered in my commitment to democracy. I raised my children as a single parent coping with the demands of a family, a political career and litigation. As a Mother, I suffered the most when I had to leave my children when they were small. I had shifted them to London and then Dubai while I continued to live in Pakistan for a while".

13. The former Prime Minister said that she did not choose this life. It chose her, she said. "It was never my goal to be a political leader". And if this life was her destiny then she embraced it due to circumstances beyond her control, she said.

14. Paying tributes to her father she said that Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a reformer who dedicated himself to the freedom and social emancipation of

the people of Pakistan. "He taught me to be proud of my religion Islam, a religion that proclaimed the equality of men and women".

15. She said that when she returned to Pakistan after completing her studies, an army coup took place. "We did not know during that long dark night of the coup whether we would live or die".

16. Following is the text of her full speech:

17. "It is an honour for me to join with you this evening. I am thankful to Magrudy's for arranging this event for the launch of my autobiography.

18. "I have often shopped at Magrudy's with my children. In those days I never dreamt that I would be visiting for the launch of the republished version of my memoirs. It is a special honour for me to be here this evening to meet with you.

19. "Last winter I had the opportunity to republish my book. I took that opportunity to share with a new generation my life as a Muslim woman in a largely Muslim country.

20. "The tragedies, the triumphs, the turbulence in Pakistani society mirror my life as a woman, a political activist and as a Muslim.

21. "As I say in my book, I did not choose this life. It chose me.

22. "It was never my goal to be a political leader.

23. "Some say it was my destiny, but if so, it was one I embraced due to circumstances beyond my control.

24. "My father Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a reformer who dedicated himself to the freedom and social emancipation of the people of Pakistan.

25. "He taught me to be proud of my religion Islam, a religion that proclaimed the equality of men and women.

26. "My father was determined that I would have the same rights as my brothers. At the age of sixteen I left for Harvard University on the east coast of America.

27. "The burgeoning movement for women's rights empowered and emboldened me. I had always been inspired by the example of Bibi Khadija, the wife of the Holy Prophet of Islam, who was a working woman and the first to give witness to the revelation of the Holy Quran.

28. "But above all, in England and America I saw the awesome power of the people changing policies and changing history.

29. "When I returned to Pakistan after completing my studies, an army coup took place. We did not know during that long dark night of the coup whether we would live or die.

30. "My Father was arrested, released, rearrested and finally hanged.

31. "When I took my leave of him from the dark death cell in which the tyrants had imprisoned him, I promised to keep alive his dream of a democratic Pakistan.

32. "Since then I have never wavered in my commitment to democracy.

33. "The battle for democracy has not been an easy one. I lost my two brothers who were both victims of political assassination. My husband spent eleven and a half years of our married life behind prison walls.

34. "I was imprisoned for almost six years as was my Mother. We were hunted, hounded and exposed to psychological warfare to break our spirit. Our faith in God, the people of our country and the righteousness of our cause sustained us through the bitter days and nights.

35. "I raised my children as a single parent coping with the demands of a family, a political career and litigation. As a Mother, I suffered the most when I had to leave my children when they were small. I had shifted them to London and then Dubai while I continued to live in Pakistan for a while.

36. "I had been told that I could never be elected Prime Minister of Pakistan because I am a woman.

37. "The religious parties opposed a woman leading a Muslim country. However some religious scholars supported me.

38. "My political struggle became a treatise of Islam and the rights of women.

39 "As a woman, I feel a special responsibility towards women everywhere. As Prime Minister I opened up job and credit opportunities for women in the country. I opened up opportunities for young people by investing in education and health.

40. "Long before terrorism or religious extremism became part of the international discourse, I confronted those forces in my country.

41. "Since the undemocratic overthrow of my government in 1996, Pakistan has witnessed many critical moments.

42. "Three years after my removal from office, a military coup took place in 1999.

43. "I believe the restoration of democracy is critical to the future direction of Pakistan and to the South Asian Region.

44. Thank You"

A Conversation with Benazir Bhutto

Speaker: Benazir Bhutto, Former Prime Minister, Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Presider: Richard N. Haass, President, Council on Foreign Relations

August 15, 2007

Council on Foreign Relations

New York, NY

RICHARD N. HAASS: Good afternoon and welcome to a special meeting of the Council on Foreign Relations. It's special because it's August -- (laughter) -- and we try not to do too many meetings in August. It's also special because of the subject and our speaker here today, the former prime minister of Pakistan.

Our timing is good. This week marks the 60th anniversary of Pakistan. And our timing is good for another reason, which is, Pakistan has been, is and, I would predict, will be much in the news for days, weeks, months and longer to come.

It's hard to imagine someone better placed to speak about the current situation in Pakistan than Benazir Bhutto. She was born into one of Pakistan's leading political families. She was educated at both Harvard and Oxford. And -- full confession -- let me say that she and I met some -- at the risk of being less than gallant -- 30 years ago or so at Oxford. We would have met even earlier than that, at Harvard, except she got accepted and I did not. (Laughter.) And of such things history is made. (Laughter.) I'm almost over it, by the way. (Laughter.)

And Benazir Bhutto has twice been prime minister of her country, from 1988 to 1990, as well as from 1993 to 1996. And now and before, her fans and her critics alike, I believe, would agree that she has been an important -- indeed, critical --

voice in that country's trajectory, regardless of her physical location. It's been a number of years -- a year or so? -- since she has --

BENAZIR BHUTTO: Eight years.

HAASS: -- eight years since she's been able to be in her country. And I expect one of the things we will talk about is when that situation is likely to change.

The way we are going to do it today is, Ms. Bhutto will speak for about 10 minutes. You will hear her voice. Then you will hear for a few minutes our voices, and then we will reserve the bulk of the time this afternoon to hear your voice, any comments or, more likely, questions you have.

We've also already begun collecting questions from our national members who are wired into this event by the wonders of modern technology.

As you no doubt notice, because you are here, we started approximately 30 minutes earlier than we normally start. And in the political or institutional equivalent of the theory of the conservation of time, we will end 30 minutes earlier than usual, so those of you catching the Jitney to the Hamptons will not be delayed. (Laughter.)

It is, for me, a personal pleasure to welcome back to the Council on Foreign Relations an old friend of mine and someone who is familiar to many of you in this room and knows well this organization, the former prime minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto. (Applause.)

BHUTTO: Thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, it's a privilege for me to be here this afternoon as the guest of the Council on Foreign Relations. Thank you for inviting me.

And as I come here to have a conversation with you, I find that my country, Pakistan, is once again in a crisis, and it's a crisis that threatens not only my nation and region, but possible could have repercussions on the entire world.

It's a crisis that has its roots almost half a century ago, when the military in my country first seized power, in 1958. Four military dictatorships -- and most recently those of General Zia ul-Haq in the '80s and now General Musharraf -- have ruled my nation for the last 30 years, except for a few years of civilian government. And so I believe that democracy has never really been given a chance to grow or nurture in my homeland.

As an example, I was only allowed to govern for five of the 10 years that my people elected me to govern. And now Pakistan has changed dramatically from the days when I left office, in 1996, for now, from areas previously controlled by my government, pro-Taliban forces linked to al Qaeda launch regular attacks on NATO troops across the border in Afghanistan.

In the view of my party, military dictatorship, first in the '80s and now again, under General Musharraf, has fueled the forces of extremism, and military dictatorship puts into place a government that is unaccountable, that is unrepresentative, undemocratic, and disconnected from the ordinary people in the country, disconnected from the aspirations of the people who make up Pakistan. Moreover, military dictatorship is born from the power of the gun, and so it undermines the concept of the rule of law and gives birth to a culture of might, a culture of weapons, violence and intolerance.

The suppression of democracy in my homeland has had profound institutional consequences. The major infrastructure building blocks of democracy have been weakened, political parties have been marginalized, NGOs are dismantled, judges sacked and civil society undermined. And by undermining the infrastructure of democracy, the regime that is in place to date was a regime put into place by the intelligence agencies after the flawed elections of 2002. This regime has not allowed the freedom of association, the freedom of movement, the freedom of speech for moderate political forces, and so by default, the mosques and the madrassas have become the only outlet of permitted political expression in the country.

And so just as the -- we've seen the emergence of the religious parties, we've seen the emergence of the extremist groups, and just as the military dictatorship of the '80s used the so-called Islamic card to promote a military dictatorship while demonizing political parties, so too the present military establishment of this century has used the so-called Islamist card to pressurize the international community into supporting military dictatorship once again.

But I am here this afternoon to tell you that as far as we, the Pakistan People's Party, is concerned, the choice in Pakistan is not really between military dictatorship and religious parties; the choice for Pakistan is indeed between dictatorship and democracy. And I feel that the real choice that the world also faces today is the choice between dictatorship and democracy, and in the choice that we make between dictatorship and democracy lies the outcome of the battle between extremism and moderation in Pakistan.

The U.S. intelligence recent threat assessment stated that, and I quote, "Al Qaeda and the Taliban seem to be fairly well-settled into the safe haven spaces of

Pakistan. We see more training, we see more money, we see more communications, we see that activity rising." That's the most recent U.S. national intelligence threat assessment. And so it's often surprising to those of us in Pakistan who see the international community back the present regime. But this backing continues, despite the regime's failure to stop the Taliban and al Qaeda reorganizing after they were defeated, demoralized and dispersed following the events of 9/11.

This is a regime under which the religious parties have risen, for the first time, to power, and they run two of Pakistan's four federating units -- two most critical states of Pakistan, those that border Afghanistan. And even while the military dictatorship has allowed the religious parties to govern two of Pakistan's most critical four provinces, it has exiled the moderate leadership of the country, it has weakened internal law enforcement and allowed for a very bloody suppression of people's human rights.

The military operation in Baluchistan is an example of the brutality of the suppression. The killings that took place in Karachi on May 12th, where 48 peaceful political activists were gunned down in the streets of Karachi, and not one person has been arrested for those murders that were actually televised, shows the level to which the regime permits the suppression of the political opposition. And most recently, 17 members of my party were killed in Islamabad on July 17 at the hands of a suicide bomber.

The weakness of law enforcement has led to a series of suicide bombings, roadside bombings. To give you an example, since last July, 300 people have fallen victim to suicide bombers within Pakistan. Disappearances, too, which were unheard of in our country's history, have become the order of the day. And even as I speak to you, a Pak-origin American, Dr. Sarki, has disappeared, not because he supports extremists, but because he's a nationalist, and the level of intolerance for differing views is so high that people can disappear simply for supporting nationalism.

The West's close association with a military dictatorship, in my humble view, is alienating Pakistan's people and is playing into the hands of those hardliners who blame the West for the ills of the region. And it need not be this way. A people inspired by democracy, human rights and economic opportunity will turn their back decisively against extremism.

There is a silver lining on the clouds. The recent restoration of the chief justice of Pakistan to the Supreme Court has given hope to people of Pakistan that the unchecked power of the military will now finally come under a degree of scrutiny by the highest judicial institutions in the country. We in the PPP have

kept the doors of dialogue open with the military regime to facilitate the transfer of democracy. This hasn't been a popular move, but we've done it because we think the stability of Pakistan is important to our own security as well as to regional security.

However, without progress on the issue of fair elections, this dialogue could founder. And now, as we approach the autumn, time is running out.

Ladies and gentlemen, I plan to return later this year to Pakistan to lead a democratic movement for the restoration of democracy. I seek to lead a democratic Pakistan which is free from the yoke of military dictatorship and that will cease to be a haven, the very petri dish of international terrorism. A democratic Pakistan that would help stabilize Afghanistan, relieving pressure on NATO troops. A democratic Pakistan that would pursue the drug barons and bust up the drug cartel that today is funding terrorism. A Pakistan where the rule of law is established so that no one has the permission to establish, recruit, train and run private armies and private militias. A democratic Pakistan that puts the welfare of its people as the centerpiece of its national policy.

And as I plan to return to Pakistan, I put my faith in the people of my country who have stood by my party and by myself through this long decade -- more than a decade, 11 years since the PPP government was ousted -- because they believe that the PPP can eliminate terrorism and give them security, and security will bring in the economic investment that can help us reverse the tide of rising poverty in the country, and by so doing, it will certainly undermine the forces of militancy and extremism.

I thank you all for listening to me so patiently. (Applause.)

HAASS: Well, thank you.

And before I ask a few questions, just to remind people, if they haven't shut off their cell phones or their BlackBerrys, please do. And this is obviously on the record. And as I said, there are people listening in around the country and around the world who are our national members.

Let me begin with a -- in some ways it's a question that to me was implicit in everything you said. You talk about the history of your country over the last 60 years. What is it about Pakistan or Pakistanis that accounts for the fact that, probably a majority of its history, democracy has not prevailed. What's wrong?

BHUTTO: Well, we feel that the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, died very quickly, a year after Pakistan was founded,

and so we didn't have a national leader with the authority, the respect to help us develop our democratic political institutions, whereas Nehru, in nearby India, provided the leadership that could help a new nation strengthen its democratic institutions.

Secondly, we also feel that Pakistan's geostrategic position as a country -- you know, we -- Afghanistan was the buffer state during the Cold War, and Pakistan was one side of the buffer state -- so our geostrategic position as the bastion for the free world also led to the international community dealing with whoever was in power. So in a sense, the military dictatorships were able to milk international support for suppressing democratic rights for short-term strategic goals. But I am concerned that that policy is now backfiring.

HAASS: Do you therefore actually wish that the United States and others were putting more pressure on your government to reinstall democracy?

BHUTTO: Yes, I would very much like to see the United States link its support, its financial and military assistance to Pakistan, to the restoration of democracy, to the holding of elections that are free, fair and impartial and open to all political parties. But for me, the restoration of democracy is only the first step. I would like to see the international community make a long-term commitment to a country as critical as Pakistan and indeed our nearby neighbor, Afghanistan, in helping us to build our institutions.

In 1988, when democracy was restored, the military establishment was still very powerful. The extremist groups were still there. And when the aid and assistance to Pakistan was cut, we had to adopt harsh economic policies. So in a way, it showed that democracy doesn't pay, and the military was able to reassert itself.

So I'd like to see a much longer-term commitment. Europe made a long-term commitment. When Europe was driven by war, the international community put NATO troops in Europe, and it made a long-term commitment through the Marshall Plan to develop the institutions. So I know it's unpopular, but I don't see quick fixes. I think what's needed is the restoration of democracy but also a commitment to help the institutions of a nation be built to sustain that democracy.

HAASS: If this is going to happen, two, if you will, constituencies in Pakistan are going to have to agree. One is the army. Do you think there is a consensus in the army to essentially return to the barracks?

BHUTTO: I doubt that there's a consensus. I don't get that sense. But I do get the sense that the army right now is itself uncomfortable with its role. The public has

turned against the uniform -- General Musharraf as the uniform -- and there are reports that the military personnel have been told not to wear their uniforms when they go into the streets. So in that sense, the rank and file does not like being unpopular. It's used to being respected by the people at large. And so to make the army noncontroversial, it's important to get them out of the politics.

But there are a group within the armed forces who are the top leadership who have a vested interest in dictatorship, because dictatorship brings power not only to them, but it brings power to their relatives, who then start doing well in parliamentary elections which are rigged, or then start doing well economically because business contracts go that way. So that I feel that as far as the rank and file of the Pakistani army is concerned, they'd like to get out and they'd like to let the civilians do the job, but I'm not sure that's what the leadership feels.

HAASS: The other key constituency, if you will, is a rather fundamental one, which is the Pakistani people. And I suppose the question that comes to mind is whether you now have in Pakistan a significant chunk of the population -- how would I put it? -- that is more committed to its ideology than it is to institutions and democracy, that the process of radicalization and the rise of extremism in your country has now created a significant obstacle or hurdle to the restoration of democracy.

BHUTTO: I know that that's an argument that some of the supporters of the military regime say, that elections in Pakistan could give up a Hamas-type solution, but that's not what the polls show, that's not what the elections have shown. Since the inception of Pakistan, all the elections have shown that the religious parties never do well when it comes to elections.

And secondly, the most recent poll by the IRI, the International Republican Institute, also showed that the religious parties would not do well. So they cannot gain through a fair, free and impartial election. However, if the military establishment decides rig the elections, that's another issue, which is why we in the PPP have asked General Musharraf to implement certain reforms to ensure that the elections will be fair, and we have also requested the international community to fund a robust monitoring team to ensure that those elections are fair.

HAASS: When you talk about your commitment to going back later this year, are there any preconditions that either you have set or have been set for you that you are at liberty to discuss?

BHUTTO: Well, General Musharraf would not like me to come. He has publicly stated that he would not like me and Mr. Nawaz Sharif to return before the end

of the year. He says it will be destabilizing if Mr. Nawaz Sharif and I return to lead our parties in the election campaign. Both of us don't agree because we feel our return will be destabilizing to the ruling party known as the Muslim League-Q, but it won't be destabilizing to the nation, it won't be destabilizing necessarily to the presidency. And we feel that elections cannot be free and fair unless the leaders of all parties are allowed to contest and contest freely.

I mean what sort of an election would we have, for example, in America if, for example, in a presidential contest Rudy Giuliani was allowed to campaign and Hillary Clinton wasn't? It would give an unfair advantage to one side. (Laughter.)

HAASS: But implicit in the -- we won't go there. (Laughter.)

Implicit in what I hear you saying is General or President Musharraf's desire to essentially get this round of elections out of the way before you and Mr. Sharif or both of you were to return, and I don't know whether implicit in that is that he's essentially saying, okay, next time to participate, but not this time.

BHUTTO: That's what he said the last time -- (laughter) -- but the issue is that what are the choices before General Musharraf? Last time he had a choice to keep the two of us out, and he had the choice to put together a political party that he said would address the social needs of the people and contain terrorism. Neither happened.

Secondly, the choice before him today is not between allowing us back afterwards, the choice is either facilitating a transfer to democracy to keep Pakistan stable and to try and broker an arrangement where he will also be continuing; or alternatively, to have all the political parties gang up against him where he could risk a movement in the streets that is stronger than the recent one which the lawyers waged.

So I don't think the options he has before him are the same as the last one, and I would rather seek to persuade him to permit an election, which will enhance his own reputation, that people could respect him for holding fair elections. But if there's a perception that the elections have been stolen, it could be like Ukraine and the Orange Revolution, where the civil groups and the political parties get together and force him out.

HAASS: Could you imagine yourself -- to use the French concept -- entering into cohabitation with somebody such as President Musharraf?

BHUTTO: Well, it would depend on how the event unfolded. At the moment, the situation is this, but we have been having a negotiation for almost a year. And while there's been agreement on several issues and where General Musharraf has committed to taking certain confidence-building measures, those haven't been taken. So my party's asking that -- you know, is it just the talk or is it going to turn into a walk? So that would very much depend on what happens up front and whether we have an understanding.

We have tried to have it, and it's not easy because, you know, the IRI polls showed that two-thirds of Pakistanis feel he's very unpopular and should go. But we are risking our popularity by even having this dialogue, but we understand Pakistan is a critical country. We understand that instability in Pakistan could threaten our own security as well as that of the region, so we've taken the risk, but we really need General Musharraf also to come up with the measures that he has already promised, to implement the measures that he has already promised by the end of this month, preferably.

HAASS: Let me turn to -- we'll obviously have more questions on that, but let me turn, if I may, for a moment to some questions about Pakistan's relationship with its neighbors and with others.

It's almost a year now since the so-called Miranshah -- am I pronouncing it right? -- agreement, which essentially was a special arrangement, we'll call it, between the central government and North Waziristan.

And quite honestly in this country and elsewhere, it's been widely criticized as constituting a form of appeasement, where the central government essentially allowed people far too much discretion, autonomy -- what have you -- to do what they would, including getting involved in ways, across the border with Afghanistan, including conceivably ways of supporting al Qaeda. What is your stance about what should be done in terms of dealing with North Waziristan and more generally with that part of the country?

BHUTTO: Well, People's Party and I rejected that ceasefire of September 2006 -- the peace treaty -- and we rejected the ceasefires before that. In fact, we were appalled that the tribal region of our country was handed over to foreigners, because Afghan Taliban, Afghans and al Qaeda are added to the Chechens and the Uzbeks. And this is Pakistani territory, and Pakistan has to protect its own territory.

So we've been absolutely appalled by that. And we think the first thing the government of Pakistan has to do is to take the territory back. We've ceded

authority of our own territory, and it's not enough to satisfy the agenda of the Afghan Taliban or the Arab al Qaeda or the Central Asian Uzbek-Chechen. They're now knocking on the doors of our frontier province.

There's been an attempt to take over the city of Darra Adam Khel. They've tried to take over Tank; they've tried to take over Malakand. The more you give them; the more they want.

HAASS: What about the argument the other way? When people make your point often in Washington, one hears the argument that if one pushed General Musharraf or President Musharraf to do just that, his own security forces -- be it elements of the army or elements of the ISI, the Intelligence Directorate -- would not prove loyal, that essentially if he pushed things that far, he himself would be challenged. What do you say when you hear that kind of an argument?

BHUTTO: When I hear that argument, I hear two kinds of arguments. One of the arguments that I hear is that he's not going to push them too far, because then he'll be deposed. But the issue is that when you are the chief of army staff and you control basically all the bombs in Pakistan, then you've got to put together a team that will support you and give you the base that will corner the people who are the extremists so that you'll not topple. You've got to take them on. Because if you don't take them on, then they win the battle anyway. Whereas if you take them on, well, either you win and if you don't win, well, you've tried, and somebody is going to come in and try harder.

The second argument that I hear is that you've got to placate the hardliners. You've got to bring them into the mainstream and invigorate the religious parties. You know, people tell me that People's Party is so moderate that the people who are the militants and the extremists will get against it, and they won't let you work. But the issue is we won't let them work either.

Now what's happening is that we brought them into -- we've said, let's bring them into the mainstream. We've given them two provinces; we've given them the leader of opposition. And has it quenched their thirst? No, they want more and more. They want to take over the whole state of Pakistan, not on the basis of having the popular support but on the basis of having the support of the militants and the militias.

So this is a battle to save Pakistan. We have to save Pakistan from within. And by saving Pakistan from within, I think that it will be having a profound effect on our region. It will have an effect on Afghanistan, on India and also the larger world community.

Let's not forget that the Tube bomber in London happened to have visited my country, or that Abu Zubaydah or the CEO of al Qaeda -- they were arrested from Pakistani cities. So the terrorists must know that Pakistan's not going to provide them an environment that they can visit safely. And I just need to understand why we have such a large intelligence if the intelligence is not able to intercept them. So my goal would be to put together a team that would give the support to the government to go after them relentlessly.

QUESTIONER: You may have covered that, what I was going to ask you next, but let me try it anyhow.

We had quite an interesting, and indeed still are, mini-debate here politically between two -- initially two of the Democratic aspirants for presidents, and it spread now across party lines. And Barack Obama kicked it off by saying, "If we have actionable intelligence about high-value terrorist targets and President Musharraf won't act, we will." That's a direct quote from a recent speech of his. What is your reaction to that?

BHUTTO: Well, I wouldn't like the United States to violate Pakistan's sovereignty with unauthorized military operations. But the issue that I would like to stress is that Barack Obama also said, if Pakistan won't act. And that's the critical issue, that the government has to act. And the government has to act to protect Pakistan's own serenity and integrity, its own respect, and to understand that if it creates a vacuum, then others aren't going to just twiddle their thumbs while militants freely move across the border.

I think General Musharraf did the right thing recently in admitting that militants are using our soil, but he said the army has nothing to do with it. But nonetheless, the issue for me is that we cannot cede parts of Pakistani territory to anybody; not just the Taliban, to anybody. That in Pakistan we have one army, one police, one constitution, one government. We cannot allow parallel armies, parallel militias, parallel laws and parallel command structures. Today it's not just the intelligence services, who were previously called a state within a state. Today it's the militants who are becoming yet another little state within the state, and this is leading some people to say that Pakistan is on the slippery slope of being called a failed state. But this is a crisis for Pakistan, that unless we deal with the extremists and the terrorists, our entire state could founder.

HAASS: A sobering moment on which to open things up. So let me open it up to you all, our members. Wait for a microphone. Please state your name and your affiliation. And please limit yourself to one question so we can conceivably get lots of people in there.

Minky?

QUESTIONER: Minky Worden from Human Rights Watch. Welcome to New York.

Back to Richard's point about the possibility of an alliance with General Musharraf. In view of how he took power, wouldn't an alliance with him send the negative message to future coup plotters that elected politicians could legitimize them in the end?

BHUTTO: Yes, at one level it would send a negative message. But Pakistan isn't an ordinary country and it's not facing an ordinary situation now. We have two different fault lines. We have one fault line between dictatorship and democracy, and we have a second fault line between the forces of moderation and the forces of extremism. We have problems with General Musharraf because he's a coup leader, and dealing with him we have severe problems at that level.

But on the other hand, General Musharraf says and has committed himself to Pakistan following a moderate path. So to that extent, if he could get the moderate forces to work together for a transition to democracy, I think in the present circumstances it would be helpful. At least that's the decision my party took, and that's why we have been involved in these negotiations.

Whether it will work, frankly, I can't say. Time, as I said, is running out. General Musharraf made certain commitments to us and we would need to see the fulfillment of those commitments in the next two to three weeks before my party meets to take a final decision on where we stand.

HAASS: Rabbi Schneier? You have to wait for a microphone. That's how we do it in our synagogue here. (Laughter.)

QUESTIONER: You attributed the rise of the fundamentalism and radical extremism to the dictatorship and lack of democracy. The question: What would you do, and your party, to deal with the network of madrassas -- schools -- that are infiltrated with Wahhabi ideology? And we're not only talking about today. You're training an entire generation of children who do not believe in democracy. What will you do with it?

BHUTTO: Well, I agree with you that this is another very big challenge, because nowadays we have three kinds of madrassas in Pakistan. One is the traditional madrassa which teaches people their religious duties and obligations. The second is a madrassa which basically brainwashes our children into intolerance. So the

battle that we -- and the third madrassa is the one which is acting as the headquarters of the militant groups, as we saw in the issue of the Red Mosque.

I thank you for drawing my attention to the middle madrassa, which is the value system, because this is a battle for values, that are we going to move in the direction of a pluralistic society or not. And I feel that nobody in my country should have the right to teach people hate, to teach them violence and to brainwash them from the very beginning in extremist thought to prepare them, which is why we would like to reform those madrassas. And if anybody does not teach the approved curriculum -- or we don't even care about approved curriculums; what we care about is that you cannot teach people hate and you cannot teach them violence. You cannot say you have to kill people of a different faith or you have to kill people of a different ethnicity. So as long as madrassas abide by those rules, they will be allowed to function, and if they don't, they will be shut down.

HAASS: You don't feel, though, they should also have the responsibility to teach, say, the basics of science, math, whatever, so people can essentially function in a modern society and world?

BHUTTO: You know, Richard, it was in -- we did that, I did that. I know we talked about Musharraf now, but my government -- actually, everybody thinks the war on terrorism began now; for me, it began much earlier with the first attack on the World Trade Towers. And in 1993, Pakistan was on the brink of being declared a terrorist state. My government arrested Ramzi Yousef, the man who was behind the first attack on the World Trade Towers. My security people didn't want to give him up, because he had not only attacked the World Trade Towers, he had tried to kill me to stop me from becoming prime minister of Pakistan.

But I handed him over, and we began an investigation, and that's when we discovered these madrassas, political madrassas that had been set up secretly by (funds ?) during the Afghan jihad, and we found that there were students from 126 different countries who had come to be recruited and enrolled in these madrassas. And that's when my Ministry of Interior and my Ministry of Education worked together to introduce math and science into the madrassas. But we also said that you cannot teach hate, because it's not enough to teach them computers and science if they're still taught to discriminate on the basis of ethnicity and discriminate on the basis of religion. So we did all that.

What we found is as soon as our government went, they diverted to their own ways. So obviously we've got to stop them from teaching hate, and we've got to make them teach science and math and so on, but at the same time, a

government in Pakistan has to commit to building schools -- not only building schools which people can go to, but building them on the (mantra ?) of madrassas, because the madrassas don't only give education; they give free food and clothing. So parents who are poor bring their children to the madrassas to be fed and looked after during the week. So my government had come up with a concept called Apna Ghar -- Your House -- where the government would set up boarding schools for people who are poor, and they could bring their children for free education and food and clothing.

Unless we provide an alternative to the madrassa -- it's not enough just trying to shut one down or reform the curriculum, so I think a multifaceted approach needs to be adopted.

HAASS: One of our members, Ricardo Tavares (sp), from Rancho Santa Fe, California, writes in and notes that the Pakistani economy has grown an average of 7 percent a year over the last five years, and he talks about the important role that foreign direct investment has played. And the question I have is, based on his question, really, is if you were back in power, how much would your economic policies look like Shaukat Aziz's, the current prime minister? And how much would you be introducing changes from what we now see in Pakistan?

BHUTTO: Well, I want to put this in a different frame.

HAASS: Okay.

BHUTTO: And I want to say that I find the 7 percent growth rate very disappointing, given the fact that all our loans have been rescheduled and given the fact that we are receiving \$10 billion in overt and covert assistance. Because when I was prime minister of Pakistan, I left office while I had to pay off the debts and without all this money, with a 6 percent growth rate, which started to go up in the year '96-'97 to 8 percent. So I think Pakistan has a huge potential and that the present regime has got a 7 percent growth rate more because of the debts being rescheduled and external flows coming in and not because of direct foreign investment.

There has been privatization. There have been a couple of groups from the Gulf that have come in, but name me one major international company, for example, like from America or from England -- I could name you General Electric, AES, National Power, who were all coming in when I was prime minister of Pakistan. But when you have terrorism and extremism and you have suicide bombers who are going and blowing up marketplaces and blowing up diplomatic missions and churches and (mosques ?) and places of worship, you don't get foreign investment. So we have a jobless recovery in Pakistan.

On paper, the statistics look good because you've got the external flows coming in. But in fact, poverty and unemployment in Pakistan has risen, and it's ticking like a time bomb. Because the people are unemployed and unemployment has risen, these militias and militants go to our people and say, we will give you a salary, we will pay you \$150 or \$200 a month; come and join our army.

So it's not just people who are ideologues who are joining the militants; it's jobless people who are being recruited in private armies. So, yes, I'm happy that flows are coming in and the debts are rescheduled and we've got 7 percent. At one level I'm happy, but on another level I'm not, because I think that we need an economy which invites the investment, that produces the jobs and a government that addresses the social and economic needs of the people so they cannot be exploited by those who are criminals and terrorists.

HAASS: Yes, sir. I don't have my glasses on, so I can't see that far.

QUESTIONER: (Name and affiliation inaudible.) Madame Prime Minister, if you were elected and if you had been the authority to work with the world community on issues of terrorism, would it be easier or more difficult for you than it has been for Musharraf? I understand that it was a difficult decision for Musharraf to come in support of the United States and the alliance, the coalition of the willing.

BHUTTO: I want to tell you that there's a broad consensus in Pakistan between the major political parties that General Musharraf took the right step and that we have to fight terrorism. Mr. Nawaz Sharif and I have had our differences in the past, but we've come together and we've signed a Charter of Democracy. And in that both our parties were the major parties in Pakistan have committed to fighting terrorism and extremism. But while it may have been a difficult decision for Musharraf at one level, there is a consensus within Pakistan that terrorism is a threat to the outside world and it's also a threat to the people of Pakistan.

We want to work together with the international community to eliminate terrorism and extremism from our country. Would it be easier for us? Well, you know, this is a very interesting question. In some ways it would be easier for us, and in other ways it's easier for Musharraf. Musharraf's strong point is that he's got the army. Musharraf's strong point is he's got the intelligence. But at the same time, his difficulty is that this the same military security apparatus that fought the Afghan jihad of the '80s, that established the Afghan mujaheddin, who later went on to become the Taliban and al Qaeda.

So people who work together have certain social occasions together and find it more difficult to suddenly take on the people they were breaking bread with; whereas with us, while we certainly need the army in back-up situations and we certainly need the military intelligence, we have a different information. We have an information based on our public and our people and our support. We have the law enforcement in terms of police. We have paramilitary forces. So we can go directly to the people.

For instance, I was talking to one of my party people now when we were distributing tickets in England before coming here, and I said, how are you going to fight with these suicide bombers? And he said, well, if anybody tried to kill me in my area, my family would know immediately who it was because we know who's living in the next house, we know who's living in the next lane, and we wouldn't leave them -- we'd make sure that they were caught so they wouldn't dare to touch me. So having that kind of political or public information is very important.

The military establishment moves against all people. It doesn't identify the people who could be the troublemakers. So if our army is sent into the tribal areas, it's difficult for the army to assess when to bulldoze a home. Is that an extremist home or is that one which belongs to a member of the community? The equation changes, which is why our military did not have success in putting out the insurgency in Karachi in the '90s, but my government was able to do it. It wasn't easy; it took us a year, 15 months, but we did it because people from the public would come to us, to our elected representatives and meet with us and say, you know, it's that person and it's that person you should be watching. So we would get information from the public.

Because when the public are involved with the government and when the public are benefitting from a government in terms of jobs and schools and drinking water, the public want to save their own community. But when there is a government that is non-representative, the public becomes alienated, and the public are against the government. And it doesn't really make that much of a difference to the public whether it's, you know, Musharraf or whether it's the militants or whether it's the military. It only makes an effect when there's actually a suicide bombing in a particular locality.

So in some ways, a democratic government is stronger because it can reach the people and it can pull together the law enforcement; terrorism is as much a military situation as it is an investigative criminal situation. So I think what's needed is meshing together. Of course, if I had General Musharraf's powers -- I mean, you know, powers over the military, powers over the police, powers over the seven administrations -- I think that this situation could be -- is not easily

tackled, but could be tackled. We have state capacity and resources to tackle it. But the present regime has not been able to tackle it.

I know this answer is long. Bear with me for one minute more.

Law enforcement got hold of a chief cleric smuggling weapons into Islamabad. But was that police officer rewarded? No, he wasn't, because the cabinet minister intervened and freed the militant who was smuggling weapons into Islamabad.

So we cannot resolve the situation when law enforcement itself is demoralized for doing the job that it ought to be doing.

HAASS: As you raise legal issues, at the risk of being an ungracious host -- you've been prime minister twice, obviously, and twice you've been dismissed, by two different presidents. Among the charges were obviously corruption. How do you deal with those charges?

BHUTTO: Well, I say that a person is innocent unless proved otherwise. And I say the very fact that I faced a state-sponsored persecution for 10 long years, which could have broken many other person(s) -- it's easy to litigate, go and have an investigation, and you go from city to city and country to country and continent to continent and courtroom to courtroom. But I was strong in my convictions. I defended myself. There's nothing against me. And my people also believe that a person is innocent unless proved otherwise.

However, I feel that this demonization process was taken to discredit the political class, divert attention from the institutionalized corruption of the military.

I wasn't the only prime minister who was sacked for corruption. Twice Mr. Nawaz Sharif was sacked for corruption. His predecessor Mr. Junejo was sacked for corruption. The prime minister of the '50s was sacked for corruption. And when the chief justice started showing too much independence, he was charged with corruption. When Mr. Imran Khan, the cricketer, who has one parliamentary seat, started defying the government, his wife was charged with smuggling tiles.

So these charges are concocted to put the political class on the defensive. This doesn't mean there isn't corruption. I think we do need to tackle corruption. I think we need transparency, we need a free press, and we need vibrant civil groups that act as watchdogs on government.

HAASS: Rita Hauser.

QUESTIONER: Hi. With some degree --

HAASS: Please, wait for a microphone.

QUESTIONER: Sorry. Rita Hauser. With some degree of frequency we read, at least in the European press, about Sunni and Shi'a conflict, particularly in Karachi -- one group attacking the mosques of the other, and some degree of violence in private militias. Is the Sunni-Shi'a divide an issue in Pakistan? And if so, what dimension?

BHUTTO: Well, unfortunately, intolerance is becoming an issue in Pakistan. It wasn't in the past. But while people are aware that these militant groups preach hatred against other religions -- for example, they say, "Kill the Christians, kill the Jews, kill the Hindus" -- most people are not aware that these extremist groups also preach hatred against different schools of Islam with different interpretations. So they also say, "Kill the Shi'as because they are non-believers." They also say fathers should kill their daughters if the daughters marry against the father's wishes.

So this issue is one of a dialogue between the Islamic world and the non-Islamic. But there's also a dialogue that is necessary within the Islamic world.

When I was growing up as a child, we were always taught that you shall have your religion, and I shall have my religion; that every religious group has to respect another religious interpretation, whether it is within the Muslim fold or outside.

But unfortunately, that's no longer the case. Ever since the extremists started attacking those religious groups who did not conform to their religious interpretation within Islam, including the Shi'as, then they organized themselves to hit back at those groups. And it's very painful for me as a Muslim to see that the place of worship, the mosque in Islam, which should be a place of refuge, has now turned into one where people fight and there is bloodshed and where their militants are stocking arms. It's a very disturbing phenomena for the majority of the Muslim people of Pakistan.

But you quite right; this kind of extremist interpretation is leading to sectarian warfare not only in Pakistan -- you've been very wise to pinpoint it -- it's leading elsewhere in the Muslim world, too.

HAASS: There's about 40 or 50 people who have their hands up. So let me apologize for making 40 or 50 more enemies today. I'm off to an early start in our year.

I see a gentleman all the way in the back corner. At least I see his hand. I can't see.

QUESTIONER: Thank you. James Tunkey, I-OnAsia. Prime Minister, I would ask if you would request or recommend any changes to the U.S. military or intelligence or other types of aid or support in Pakistan.

BHUTTO: Well, I would like to see the U.S. military and economic aid to Pakistan continue. I think there needs to be a long-term commitment to security in the region. I sometimes hear -- I mean, in this tribal jirga, for example, that was held, some people said the way to restore peace is to withdraw NATO from Afghanistan. I don't agree. I think it takes a generation to build up different attitudes, different beliefs, different institutions. I remember Afghanistan being without any institution at all.

So I think it's important to make a long-term commitment to our common endeavors, to fighting terrorism and building democratic states with viable political institutions that can redress the -- that can address the aspirations of the people there.

So I'd like to see this assistance continue, but I'd like it to be committed to a democratic Pakistan. I find it very strange that democracies should be supported in Afghanistan, and yet while democratic leaders in Afghanistan give confidence to the international community, the international community is still apprehensive about dealing with democratic leaders in Pakistan.

For me, I see military rule as the problem. I don't see it as the solution.

HAASS: But just to be clear, so we understand what you're saying, are you therefore suggesting that Congress or others should reduce U.S. aid to Pakistan unless democracy is restored?

BHUTTO: Well, I would like them to link it to the restoration of democracy, yes. I think they need to tell our military has a vested interest in seeing a restoration of democracy. Most of the people in our army are patriotic. Most of the people in our army would not like to see any harm come to our country. And if they feel that the aid is going to dry up, they'll have an institutional interest in promoting democracy to keep the aid coming in. But if they think that they can keep the aid even with the dictatorship, why should they tilt towards a democracy?

HAASS: I want to call on Dan Markey, who's our senior fellow here for India, Pakistan and South Asia.

QUESTIONER: Hi. You mentioned one silver lining in all of these challenges, and that was the chief justice and his restoration, the protests that led up to that. And I'm curious how you understand that. Do you see it as a kind of one political moment, sort of a bump in the road, or is this a fundamental turning point for Pakistan? Is this something much more historic, something much more lasting? Does it have more potential?

BHUTTO: It's too early to say whether this will be a lasting phenomenon. But certainly for many Pakistanis it has given hope that it could turn into a defining moment when the judiciary finally begins to operate independently.

The chief justice's return, for example, has enabled my party to go to the court to seek relief where the electoral lists were concerned for the forthcoming elections. Thirty percent of our voters were not enrolled. Of those that were enrolled, 26 percent were duplicates. So we have a hope of having an independent adjudicator.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif has also filed a petition seeking to return to Pakistan. The lawyers movement is -- the lawyers community is highly energized. Many people lost their lives in the struggle. Many were imprisoned. A heavy price was paid. They were baton charged, had head injuries.

So, given this mood in the country, we hope that it can become a permanent turning point in our country's history. It's certainly given hope.

HAASS: One of the series we have here at the council is called Lessons Learned, where we ask prominent individuals to reflect on their careers and decisions they've made, all of which is a segue to this probably last question from Trudy Rubin, who's with the Philadelphia Inquirer. And she basically says: If you became prime minister again, what would you do differently? What are the lessons that you learned from your two stints in political power and now as an observer on the outside?

BHUTTO: Well, you know, in retrospect, you look back and you see things with a different vision, and there were certainly things I wish I had done differently. For example, I was with my father at Shimla when he signed the Shimla agreement with India to try and bring the two countries to peace despite the differences on Kashmir. And it was always my dream to be remembered as -- to

give a legacy as a peacemaker. So I do look back in retrospect and regret the opportunity I had to make peace.

Secondly, I remember when the Taliban first came up in neighboring Afghanistan. Many of us, including our friends from the U.S., initially thought that they would bring peace to that war-torn country. And that was a critical, fatal mistake we made. If I had to do things again, that's certainly not a decision that I would have taken.

And in my early years, I think, as one of the first female, woman prime ministers in a Muslim world and one of the first group of women leaders on the world stage, I was so concerned with trying to appear as tough as a man and as strong as a man, and to judge myself to be a good leader by such decisions. I don't think I would have been as -- I think I should have been true to what I was. The people wanted me to be there as a woman leader, somebody who was more nurturing, who could take care of our people, our women, our children, redress their needs, build them hostels and schools and provide them with basic nutrition. I wish I had focused more on that than on the more militaristic notions. All that militarization did not in the end save us at Kargil. It took President Clinton to bring an end to that particular phase.

So, yes, you look back and you see many things that you would have done differently.

HAASS: Thank you. It seems a fitting place.

Let me just say this is, again, a rare meeting in August. We will resume with a rather busy schedule, and particularly in September when we have all sorts of leaders coming to New York for the U.N. General Assembly.

Let me again thank you all for coming and apologize to those for whose desire to ask questions did not get realized. Please don't hate me through Labor Day.

And let me thank Ms. Bhutto for again coming to the Council on Foreign Relations. (Applause.)

BHUTTO: Thank you, Richard. Thank you very much. Thank you. I hope it won't take you 30 years to invite me again. (Laughs.)

HAASS: No chance.

Democratization in Pakistan
The Middle East Institute
Washington, DC - September 25, 2007

1. Ladies and gentlemen. I thank Ambassador Chamberlin and the Middle East Institute for the invitation to be with you this morning. I visit at critical and uncertain time in Pakistan. When the history of my nation is written, we will look back to the fall of 2007 as a genuine turning point in Pakistan.

2. It is a critical fork in the road between democracy and dictatorship and between moderation and extremism. In its resolution lies not only the future of Pakistan, but also its ability to contain the spread of militancy and extremism which now threatens the territorial integrity of Pakistan. The stakes could not be higher.

3. Four times in history, Washington has supported military dictatorship in Pakistan. Three times the US acted out of perceived self-interest to constrain communism. Today Islamabad enjoys the support of Washington because General Musharraf's military regime is viewed as a vital asset in fighting extremism and contributing to regional and global security.

4. Some argue that extremism can better be confronted by a military backed regime. As such, a controlled dictatorship is seen as a stable and reliable ally, as opposed to a truly elected government that has the support of the people.

5. It will not surprise you that I disagree with this view quite vigorously. I think it is a strategic miscalculation that has had a negative impact in the battle against violent fanaticism, posing grave dangers both to Pakistan and the larger world community.

6. The recent German investigation into a terrorist conspiracy simply reinforces this view. It certainly makes Pakistan uncomfortable that whether it is John Reid the Shoe bomber, or Tanweer the tube bomber, or Khalid Sheikh the CEO of Al Qaida, or the German plot – unfortunately the steps lead back to our country. But none of these high-profile terrorist acts took place when I was the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The attacks on the World Trade Towers, the Cole ship at Yemen, the embassies in africa, the blasts in bombay and in the indian parl took place when I was in opposition

7. Since 9/11 the Musharraf regime has professed support for confronting militancy. But actions on the ground have not matched the rhetoric. Indeed, the

only nation on this planet that has ever signed an actual peace treaty with the Taliban and al Qaeda militants is the current regime in Islamabad.

8. Large sections of Pakistan's tribal areas have been ceded to non Pakistanis in the Taliban and Al-Qaeda militias. In fact, after defeat and demoralization following the fall of the Kabul, these violent elements have re-organized themselves under the shadow of the military regime. They attack NATO forces across the border in Afghanistan every day. They conduct suicide attacks within Pakistan killing innocent people. On September 20, 2007, Al - Qaeda declared war on the Pakistan army.

9. Military dictatorship has fueled extremism. A democratically elected government enjoying the support of the people can bring peace to the people of Pakistan and eliminate extremism. Eliminate terrorism by taking extremism off the radar screen of the region.

10. I was the civilian female leader of a democratic Pakistan that invested political capital in the tribal areas that a military regime has failed to control. As Prime Minister I brought the rule of law and the fruits of development to the people in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. My government broke up the international drug cartel's militias that have now reasserted themselves under the Musharraf rule and are funding Al - Qaeda to have a narco-fiefdom. My Administration brought the authority of the government and the rule of law to FATA in the 1990s. And we can do it again.

11. I would also add that as Prime Minister I took the necessary steps to close down political madrassas whose curriculum taught hatred and para-military terrorist techniques. I did this before they became a threat to the world community. I considered them a threat to the stability, security and progress of the people of Pakistan.

12. Since the dismissal of my government by military hardliners that had fought the Afghan Jihad of the eighties, there has been an explosion in these militant training schools, educating a successor generation of extremists, reinforcing irregular armies in Pakistan who have made my nation the Petri dish of the international extremist movement.

13 General Musharraf's team, many of them linked to a military dictatorship of the eighties, that founded the Afghan Mujahideen to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan, has presided over the rise of political Madrassas and private militias while neglecting social issues and governance.

14. The people of Pakistan want a government that can build a school system giving their children a chance for a better life. Education was the centerpiece of my social agenda. My government built 48,000 primary schools in its two stints in government.

15. If the people of Pakistan wish me to lead them again, education will be the center-piece of a new PPP government.

16. General Musharraf has tried convincing the world that he is the only thing standing in the way of an extremist takeover of a nuclear armed Pakistan. In fact military rule is the cause of this anarchic situation in Pakistan. Extremism thrives under dictatorship.

17. When Osama Bin Laden declares war on Musharraf, it makes the West rally around Musharraf's dictatorship. This in turn extends the environment that enables Osama to thrive.

18. Neither Musharraf nor Osama Bin Laden wants democracy for their own reason. One considers democracy a threat to his dictatorship; the other considers democracy a threat to the environment of chaos and fear in which he thrives.

19. Both know that the people of Pakistan have never supported dictatorship or extremism.

20. It is only dictatorships which have used the Islamic card to legitimize their rule at the expense of the neglected people of Pakistan. Dictatorships, lacking a popular base, need the religious card, played in one shape or another, to justify their stranglehold on power. They need a crisis to obtain international support, both political and financial. Extremists have never been able to achieve more than 11% of the vote in a free election, and they will do worse, not better if free elections are held today.

21. The Musharraf dictatorship like its predecessors is only establishing the prerequisites for the radicalization of Pakistani society. As our people continue to be deprived of basic political and human rights, and as the social needs of our working families go unmet, people lose faith in the ability of government to respond to their needs. When they lose faith, they become hopeless, they become desperate and they tend to become vulnerable to the hysterical appeals of extremists.

22. Ladies and gentlemen, dictatorship in Pakistan is not containing extremism, it is fueling it.

23. The suppression of democracy in my homeland has had profound institutional consequences.

24. Each of Pakistan's four military dictatorships has assaulted the major infrastructural building blocks of democracy -- by attempting to marginalize political parties, dismantling NGO's and undermining civil society, by constraining labor and student unions, and allowing the intelligence agencies and government members to physically assault and intimidate the free press.

25. Each military dictatorship has undermined the independent judiciary by sacking of judges. In the last twenty years, my government is the only one which has neither removed a Chief Justice nor attacked the premises of the Supreme Court.

26. Let me tell you what dictatorships do allow to flourish.

27. Under General Musharraf, the military intelligence agencies have received over ten billion dollars in unaccountable assistance from the U.S. government. Retired military officers from the security forces who fought the Afghan Jihad of the eighties are running our intelligence and administration.

28. The ones who recruited the Mujahideen who morphed into Taliban and Al-Qaeda are in charge of our homeland security. Under their watch religious extremists have expanded in Pakistan. Radical mosques and madrassas have been encouraged as an alternative to recognized political institutions. They are awash in money and weapons while the people of Pakistan bear the burden of unemployment, inflation, poverty and hunger.

29. Dictatorships, by dismantling the infrastructure of democracy, allow the mosques to become the only outlet of political expression in Pakistan.

30. The Musharraf regime has appointed extremists to head many of the mosques. For example the head cleric of the Red Mosque in Islamabad who led a mutiny in the summer of 2007 was appointed by the regime of General Musharraf. When he was caught smuggling weapons into Islamabad in 2004, he was released by the Minister of Religious Affairs. The same Minister has twice defended suicide attacks before a Pakistani audience while retracting them for the international community.

31. When Pakistanis gather to pray on Friday in the mosques they are often subjected to long lectures by radical clerics appointed by the government even as the government claims publicly to be against extremism. The voices of moderation are exiled or imprisoned. The voices of extremism are protected.

32. We are all united in the common effort of the world community against violence and extremism that would destroy our values and the social fabric of our societies. I am returning to Pakistan to coalesce the forces of moderation against extremism and to prove that the fundamental battle for the hearts and minds of a generation can only be accomplished under democracy.

33. Extremism looms as a threat, but it will be contained again as it has been contained in the past, if the “moderate middle” can be mobilized to stand up to fanaticism. And I intend to lead that struggle. I intend to mobilize the moderate center of my nation to assert control of our future and protect us from the threat of extremism and fanaticism.

34. Moderate and centrist political parties, thriving human and political rights NGOs, the media, and progressive leadership within our security and intelligence agencies must be brought together to confront extremists who pose the greatest internal threat to Pakistan.

35. This is a battle that can only successfully be waged in a democratic Pakistan by a legitimate government that enjoys the support of the people. This is a battle that I am prepared to wage, to lead and to win.

36. I am well aware that some in Pakistan have questioned the dialogue I have engaged in with General Musharraf over the last several months. I entered into that discussion with my eyes wide open. My goal from the beginning and to this day is to have free and fair elections in Pakistan that constitutionally elects a civilian president who recognizes the supremacy of the Parliament – which embodies the will of the people through their elected representatives.

37. The goal of my dialogue with Musharraf has never been personal. The goal was always to ensure that there be fair and free elections in Pakistan, pursuant to the Constitution, supervised by a robust team of international monitors and observers, as quickly as possible. My goal was quite literally to save democracy in Pakistan, to give democracy a chance to nurture and grow and strengthen.

38. The fight against extremism requires a national effort that can flow only from legitimate elections. Within our intelligence and military are elements who sympathize with religious extremists. If these elements are not answerable to Parliament and the elected government, the battle against religious militancy, a battle for the survival and future of Pakistan, could be lost. The military must be part of the battle against extremism, but as the six years since Sept. 11 have shown, the military cannot do it on its own.

39. Many issues remain unresolved in our political structure. Musharraf is precluded by law from seeking reelection in or out of uniform. Pakistani law requires a two-year lapse before a member of the military can run for the presidency.

40. The general can respond to the people's desire for legitimate presidential, parliamentary and ministerial elections, or he can tamper with the Constitution. The latter choice would risk a fresh confrontation with the judiciary, the legal community and the political parties.

41. It is perhaps this reason that General Musharraf embarked on negotiations with the PPP for a transition to democracy. The understanding has stalled because extremist sympathizers in his party refuse to accept a democratic process. Musharraf couldn't deliver on commitments because of these extremist sympathizers in his party — over whom he seems to have little control.

42. Once General Musharraf files his nomination papers, the PPP would decide whether it would resign from the present Parliament or whether it would boycott the elections. While the PPP would not vote for General Musharraf as President from this Parliament unless there is a constitutional amendment, it would not resign if he took the necessary steps to show that he was moving toward fair elections and a level-playing field.

43. If General Musharraf will retire from the post of Army Chief by October 5 - given his pledge to retire before the year's end; second seek national reconciliation by passing an immunity law for those parliamentarians not proven guilty in the last decade; and third repeal the ban on a twice elected prime minister seeking office — a law that he put into place contrary to the constitution; the PPP will not resign from the Assemblies.

44. The Pakistan People's Party is holding a meeting with its ARD allies to decide this issue on October 3.

45. Islamabad's Election Commission created a new controversy when it attempted to change constitutional provisions to facilitate Musharraf's election in uniform. In a government of law, laws are changed by an elected parliament, not an official appointed by the military regime. This action alone demonstrates why presidential and parliamentary election held under the supervision of the present Election Commission worry civil society. The Election Commission is also viewed as a partisan by civil society and political parties for its failure to draw up a credible electoral list.

46. As a pretext for the declaration of martial law, the forces of regression in Pakistan deliberately want to provoke a mass uprising. More and more, Pakistanis are coming to this sad conclusion. It seems that some in the President's ruling party, a party created in the headquarters of the I.S.I in 2002, believe that they can only continue in power if they seize power, and not earn it through the people's trust. They will do any thing; force an emergency or martial law or rig elections to prevent the restoration of democracy. They fear that democracy would mean a roll back of their structure which has permitted the expansion of extremism and militancy to threaten an Islamist take over of nuclear armed Pakistan.

47. Civil unrest is what the extremists want. Anarchy and chaos suits them.

48. The political element in Musharraf's party that presided over the rise of extremism has worked with every Pakistani administration since my government was destabilized in 1996.

49. Its members have done everything possible to block the democratic change I have tried to achieve through dialogue with Musharraf. They fear that democracy will be difficult to manipulate to the benefit of extremists and militants. In this, they are absolutely right.

50. My dialogue with Musharraf aims to bring change by promoting democracy and stopping a dictatorship that has failed to stop the tribal areas becoming safe havens for militants. The extremists are now spreading their tentacles into Pakistan's cities. It is a process that must be stopped, if the people of Pakistan are to have security, employment, education and a better quality of life and if Pakistan is to be saved from the clutches of extremists.

51. My party and I seek fair, free and impartial elections to be held by an independent election commission under an interim government of national consensus. We want a level playing field for all candidates and parties. The Musharraf Election Commission has failed to give civil society and the opposition confidence.

52. Joseph Stalin is thought to have once said, "Those who cast the vote decide nothing. Those who count the vote decide everything." That's why we have stressed electoral reforms -- although our efforts have so far been in vain.

53. The people of Pakistan want change. Change of systems, change of programs, change from a climate of threat to one of stability and prosperity. They don't want to see the sham of 2002 repeated again, resulting in an illegitimate government that has no mandate to govern and fails to give security of life or

economic growth that can provide hope and opportunity to those unemployed or living on the margins of poverty.

54. President Bush has rightly noted, "The most powerful weapon in the struggle against extremism is not bullets or bombs -- it is the universal appeal of freedom. Freedom is the design of our Maker, and the longing of every soul."

55. I plan to return to Pakistan next month, to land in my home town of Karachi on October 18th.

56. I chose Karachi as the city to return to because it is the city where the founder of Pakistan rests. Quaid e Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah campaigned to create Pakistan as a democracy where all citizens would be equal irrespective of their race, their religion or their gender. I go to Karachi to rekindle the dream of Quaid e Azam for the people of Pakistan.

57. Quaid e Azam believed that every Pakistani should be free to go to the mosques, the churches or the temples. The extremists who oppose democracy today oppose Quaid e Azam. But they were defeated; and they will be defeated again, God willing, because most Pakistanis are moderate. Most Pakistanis yearn for security, for democracy and for economic progress.

58. My father gave his life standing up for Quaid e Azam's dream of Pakistan. And so Karachi is full of symbolism for me.

59. When my plane touches down on the tarmac, I know I will be greeted with joy by people who are longing to see an end to military rule, and a chance for democracy.

60. I do not know what awaits me, personally or politically, once I leave the airport. I pray for the best and prepare for the worst.

61. But in any case, I am going home to fight for the restoration of Pakistan's place in the community of democratic nations. I do not fear the extremists for I have put my fate in the hands of the people of Pakistan, and my faith in God.

62. Thank you for coming here today, and thank you for your support for democracy in Pakistan.

**Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto's Address to Diplomats at PPP Foreign Liaison Committee Reception
Senate Hall - Islamabad - 10 November 2007**

Ladies and gentlemen

I appreciate the opportunity to have this conversation with you, especially at this most critical time in the history of my nation.

Obviously Pakistan is at a turning point, and the direction we follow will not only impact the future of my nation, but I strongly believe will have a direct and immediate impact on the stability of the region and the stability of the world.

I take this opportunity to thank the International community for their support to the people of Pakistan in calling upon General Musharaf to lift the curbs of the media, release political prisoners, retire as Army Chief on schedule, and hold elections on schedule.

Democracy is morally right, and even more important to this forum, democracy is the only viable way to contain the growth of extremism, militancy and fanaticism that now threatens the world.

My Party, Nation and I have spent our lives fighting for democracy and for democratic governance. We are fighting now for democracy to safeguard people's rights and also to safeguard the unity of Pakistan. Our goal is to ensure that through empowerment, employment and education, regions of my country cease being the Petri dish for international and national terrorist plots that threaten us all.

Pakistan under dictatorship is a pressure cooker. Without a place to vent, the passion of our people for liberty threatens to explode. The current military dictatorship that rules my country with an iron fist is opposing the inevitable forces of history. There is not enough barbed wire, or bullets, or bayonets to defeat my people's unquestionable desire for democracy, for control over their own lives, for human rights, gender equality, labour and minority rights and for a chance to build a better life for their children. These are indeed the dreams of the Pakistani people and of all people. These are universal values.

It is eleven years since the destabilization of the democratic government I led but it has failed to crush the will and support of the people for a representative government that addresses the bread and butter issues of our people, 74% of whom live in poverty. Poverty has increased as has joblessness since the PPP government, with a 6% growth rate, without 10 billions of aid, was overthrown.

Yesterday my home was surrounded and I was unofficially put under house arrest because this military regime did not want the world to see that the people

of Pakistan want change, want freedom, and want liberty. The garrison town of Pindi was cut off and surrounded. With blockades, barbed wire and the motorway closed. For 8 hours people were gassed and beaten. The brutal images of police beating innocent women were on every television screen on Earth. Tomorrow people of Sindh will hold protest meetings in every district to show solidarity with the people of Rawalpindi.

In Pakistan we say that there are two tests for the success of a public meeting. When the government does not use coercive methods to stop a meeting, the success is judged by the number of people present.

On October 18 the people of Pakistan held the most historic rally in the history of Pakistan when three million turned out in Karachi, stretching all the way back on the National Highway to receive me to express their hope that my return would be a catalyst of a change from dictatorship to democracy.

The second test of a popular public meeting is the amount of police force and measures used to block the peoples participation. The amount of force and restrictive measures is proportionate to the number of people expected to turn out and attend a public meeting.

Force was used to bring closure of Northern Pakistan on November 9, 2007. There was tear-gassing, baton charging, arrest of 5000 activists, including women parliamentarians from Peshwar to Rawalpindi, Karachi to Pindi, Lahore to Pindi and Islamabad to Pindi. The amount of force used was, according to our calculation, to stop a gathering of a million people. By both tests, coercive and non-coercive, the people rose to the occasion.

Now the ball is in the regime's court. We have called for a Long March from Lahore from November 13, 2007. This is the March for Freedom, freedom from dictatorship, from militancy from poverty and unemployment.

The current regime has convinced some Nations that General Musharaf alone stands in the way of a nuclear armed, fundamentalist Pakistan. This is a misperception. The religious parties in Pakistan have never received more than 11% of the vote in any election and they would receive less today. It is dictatorship that fuels extremism. The dictatorship of 80's created the Afghan Mujahideen which morphed into Taliban and Al-Qaeda. The political partners of that dictatorship hold key positions in the political, administrative and security institutions of this dictatorship. They cannot, and have not contained extremism nor reduced poverty. They have exacerbated the situation to an extent where nuclear armed Pakistan is threatened with implosion.

Only a popularly elected democratic government with the mandate of the people has the political base to undermine the militants and bring peace to the people of Pakistan.

Dictatorship does not contain fanaticism. Dictatorship causes fanaticism.

Ladies and gentlemen, Pakistan plays a central role in the direction of one billion Muslims on this planet. A Pakistan which is moderate, enlightened, modern can be a model to the people in the Muslim world who have to choose between the forces of the past and the forces of the future. Pakistan can be critical to democratic development and the containment of extremism all over Asia and Africa, and can spare our global community further senseless attacks from the forces of hatred.

The enemies of reconciliation amongst our peoples and our nations are trying desperately to provoke a clash of civilizations. These fanatics thrive on chaos. They thrive on the desperation that comes from dictatorship. Democracy suffocates them by giving people choices and giving people hope.

The PPP and I negotiated with General Musharaf's regime for a peaceful transition to democracy. We worked on a road map for fair elections and transition to democracy.

Tragically, suddenly General Musharaf suspended the constitution and imposed Martial Law. This Martial law has been called an Emergency for International consumption.

The PPP has called upon General Musharaf to:

- Revive the Constitution and with it the judges.
- Retire as Chief of Army Staff on November 15 as scheduled.
- Hold general elections called on November 15 on schedule for January 15, 2008.
- Re-constitute the Election Commission and implement election reforms including an interim government of national consensus to oversee the elections, suspension of the Mayors for the elections period, appointment of impartial officials to important government positions, a fair voter account, no improvised polling stations and other such measures.
- End of political victimization
- Lifting of curbs on the media.

Pakistan is in a crisis. Our country, armed forces, police, women, judges, lawyers, minorities, labour, peasants, students, intellectuals and youth are under assault, some by the militants, others by the military regime.

The choice must not be between the military or the militants the choice must be for the will of the people, for democracy.

If for no other reason than your own national self-interest, stand with us in our demand for free and fair elections with robust international monitoring.

The Taliban are coming nearer and nearer. I do not want to be melodramatic. But it is the harsh reality that they came from the mountains of Tora Bora to the tribal areas. First one agency fell, then another as the government struck ceasefires and peace treaties with them. Bajaur fell, Khyber fell, Waziristan fell. Now towns in Swat are falling. Madyan fell, Kalam fell. Today they knock on the doors of Shangla Hills.

The Freedom March, the caravan of democracy is not about Benazir Bhutto. This is not about the Pakistan Peoples Party. This is about saving Pakistan from disintegration at the hands of militants who have grown in strength under a military dictatorship. They threaten us all. The people of Pakistan cannot be allowed to fall from one dictatorship to another, from military dictatorship to religious dictatorship. I have returned to help my people. My supporters, often from working families, often young, are risking their lives to save Pakistan by saving democracy. My Father gave his life for the democratic rights of the people.

We don't accept tyranny. Our cause is just, our path is right for it is the path of truth, the path of the people. We appeal to all the people of our country to walk with us on our common destination towards freedom. We ask the international community to give us moral support.

We believe that victory and defeat are in the hands of God, as is life and death, but we must do what is right, what is just. We must raise our voices and begin the journey in the great walk from tyranny to freedom.

Thank you.

THE END